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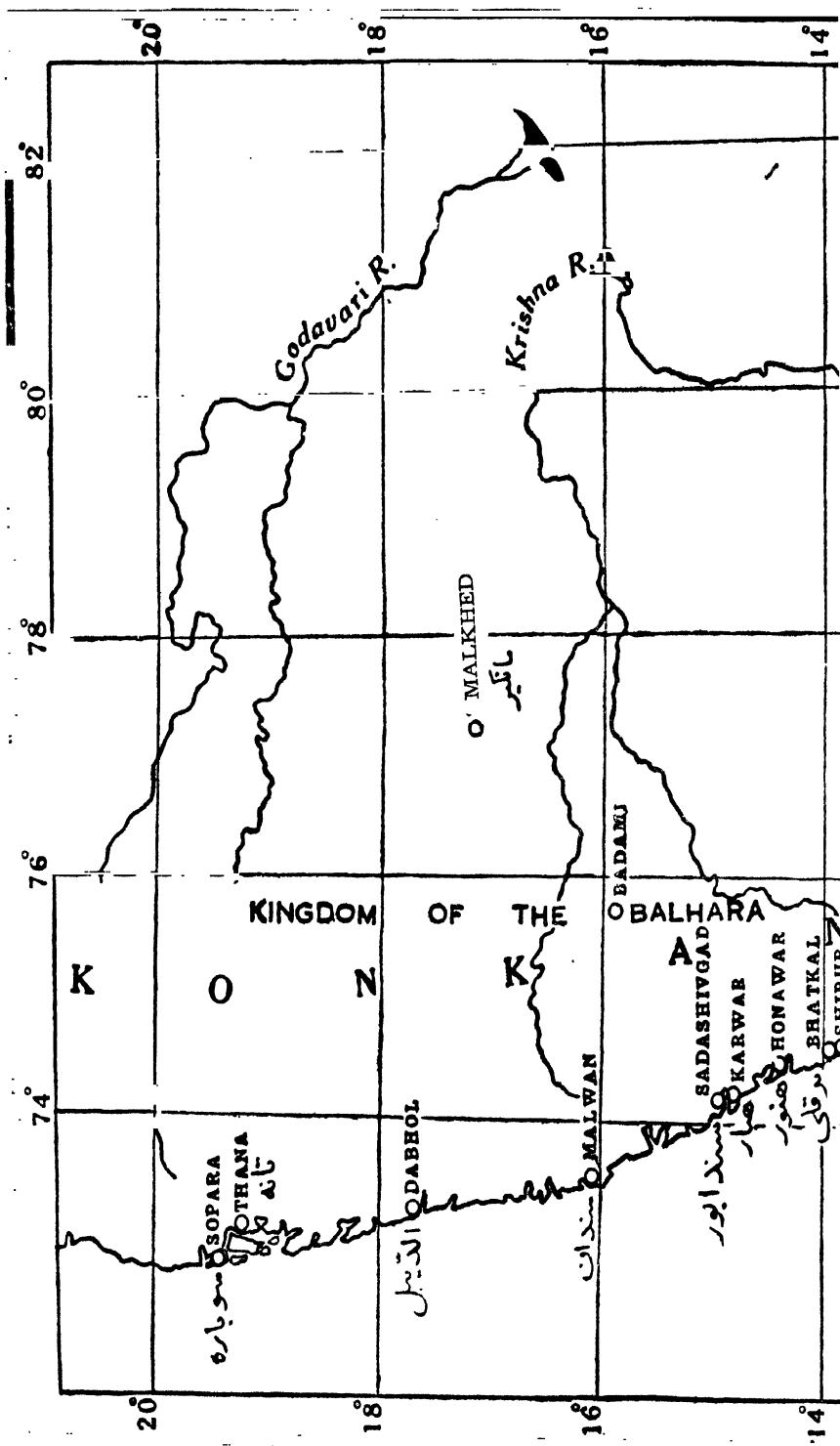
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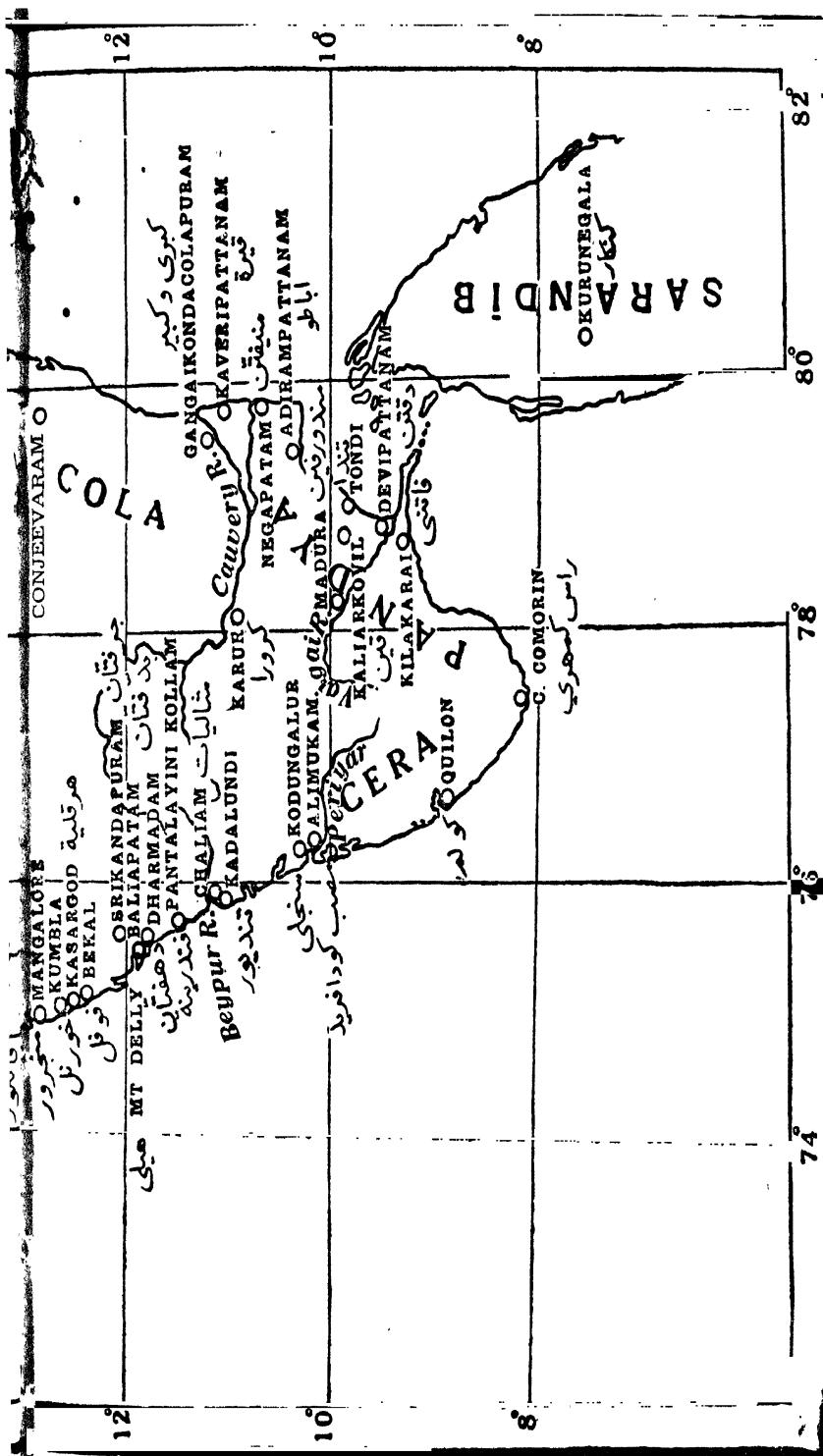
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**THE KNOWLEDGE OF INDIA POSSESSED BY ARAB  
GEOGRAPHERS DOWN TO THE 14TH CENTURY A.D.  
WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO SOUTHERN INDIA.**





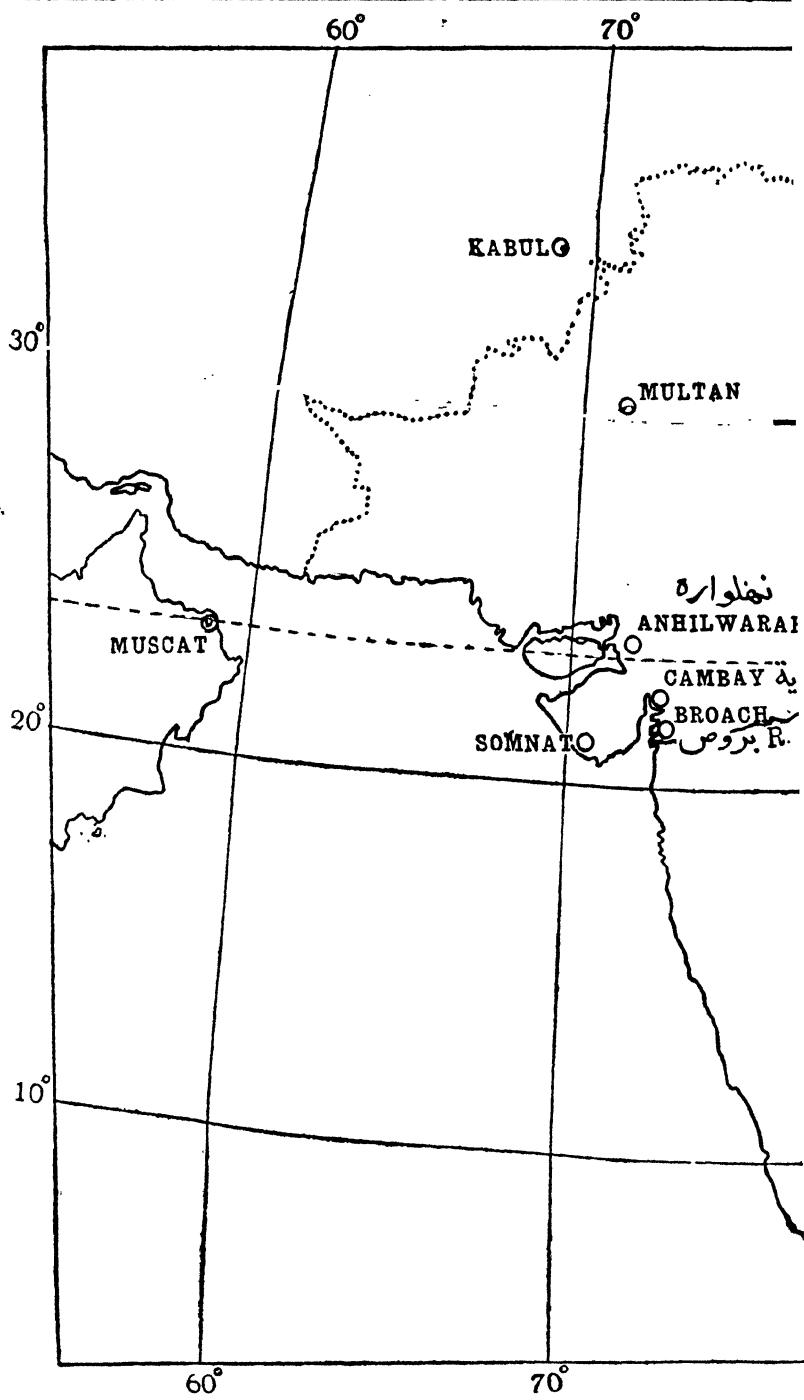




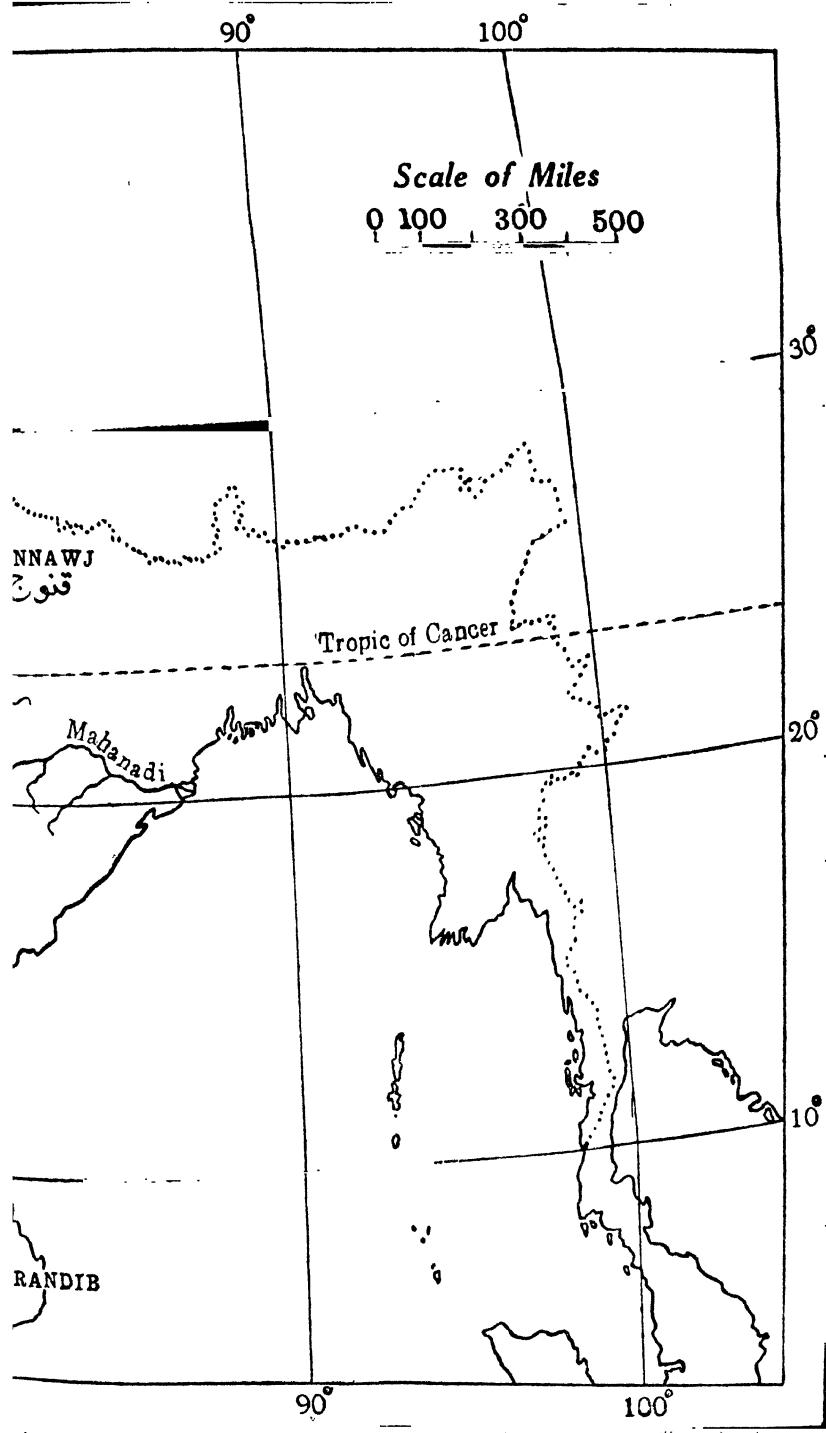
MAP OF SOUTHERN INDIA SHOWING THE PLACES MENTIONED BY ARAB GEOGRAPHERS







MAP OF INDIA SHOWING SC



PLACES ABOVE THE NARBADA



# ARAB GEOGRAPHERS' KNOWLEDGE OF SOUTHERN INDIA

BY

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UNIVERSITY OF MADRAS

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TO

M. NA‘İMUR-RAHMĀN

WITH LOVE, VENERATION AND GRATITUDE



## FOREWORD

The monograph of Dr. Nainar is the fruit of a courageous undertaking carried out with much ability and crowned with success. He has carefully collected all the references to India and Indian affairs which have been made by early Arab geographers and subjected them to a thoroughly critical study, which has enabled him to determine how far they are related to one another and how far they rest upon independent authority ; and in the course of this investigation he has succeeded in making some important corrections in the texts of these authors published by European scholars. This however is only a part of his work, though it is a fundamental part. His next task has been to present all the statements of the geographers in classified order, and to study them in detail. These statements relate to the geography, the history, the social life, and the economic products of India; and on all these subjects Dr. Nainar's observations have thrown much new light. The imperfect knowledge of the Arab geographers and the corruptions which inevitably attend transliteration of foreign words into Arabic script often render the identification of the names of Indian places, men and things extraordinarily difficult ; but Dr. Nainar has done much to surmount these obstacles, and his work is one that must be welcomed as a valuable contribution to the study of an important side of Indian antiquities and of Arabic literature.

School of Oriental Studies,  
Vandon House, Vandon Street,  
London, S.W. 1.  
23rd June, 1938.

(Sd.) L. D. BARNETT.



## PREFACE

This is the first time an attempt has been made to present a comprehensive survey of the knowledge of India possessed by Arab geographers with special reference to Southern India. A few scattered papers have appeared from time to time, dealing with Arabs' knowledge of Southern India, but nowhere is there to be found any comprehensive account presenting the sum total of all the information given by Arab writers.

In addition to the study of various books, rare Arabic manuscripts, in the libraries of London, Oxford, and Paris, which add to the particulars contained in the published works, notably in those of de Goeje, have been consulted and much original information has been gathered.

The Arabicised forms of South Indian names of places and persons are so varied that it would have been difficult to make progress, but for the writer's knowledge of Southern India and of the Dravidian languages.

This book was presented as a thesis for the University of London (Faculty of Arts) in fulfilment of the requirement for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy. It is the product of two years residence in London, where I started work under the guidance of Prof. H. A. R. Gibb; after his appointment to the Arabic Chair at Oxford, I worked under Sir E. Denison Ross of revered memory. I am deeply indebted to them for their valuable advice and suggestions. I must also express my heartfelt thanks to Prof. A. S. Tritton for his ready help whenever I was in need of it.

I must not forget to acknowledge my gratitude to Miss O. Murray Browne, the Librarian, the School of Oriental Studies, London, for her unfailing courtesy and kindness during the period when I worked in the library.

University Buildings,  
Triplicane, Madras,  
15th Jan. 1942.

S. MUHAMMAD HUSAYN NAINAR.



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*System of Transliteration (Arabic into English).*

ا	-	,
ب	-	b
ت	-	t
ث	-	th
غ	-	g
ه	-	h
ك	-	kh
د	-	d
د	-	dh
ر	-	r
ز	-	z
س	-	s
ش	-	sh
س	-	s̪
ز	-	z̪
ت	-	t̪
ظ	-	z̪
غ	-	‘
ف	-	gh
ق	-	f
ك	-	q
ل	-	k
م	-	l
ن	-	m
و	-	n
ه	-	w
ه	-	h
ي	-	y



## INTRODUCTION

What was known of Indian geography and ethnology from the earliest times and during the first ten or fourteen centuries of the Christian era may be found in the following sources :

- (1) Sanskrit authors.
- (2) Greek and Roman geographers.
- (3) Chinese Travellers and Annals.
- (4) The Venetian traveller, Marco Polo.
- (5) Arabic works of travel and biography.

The allusions found in the ancient Hindu writers to the geography of their own land give only suggestions in connection with theological and other disquisitions. Some information, however, can be obtained of the division of the country into different kingdoms from scattered remarks ranging from the Vedic period onwards.<sup>1</sup>

The notions of the Greeks as to Indian geography were obtained mostly from hearsay and their geographical conception of the country was erroneous and distorted. The Greek and Latin

The Rig Veda—1200 B.C.

The Mahābhārata—5th century B.C.

The Rāmāyaṇa—500 B.C.

The Purāṇas like the Matsya Purāṇa and Vāyu Purāṇa of the 4th century A.D.

The Buddhist Jātakas—4th century B.C.

The Mahāvamī—5th century A.D.

Varāha Mihira's Bṛhatsaṃhitā—6th century A.D.

The works of Kālidāsa, such as the Rāghuvamīśa and the drama, Mālavikāgnimitra—400 A.D.

geographers<sup>2</sup> were mainly concerned with Northern India and make very little mention of the South. Owing, however, to the great deficiency of written records among the Hindus, the information to be derived from Greek and Latin literature is the best available for the period to which it relates.

Chinese travellers<sup>3</sup> who visited India from the earliest times have left some account of the country based on their per-

2. The principal Greek and Latin authorities on Ancient Indian Geography are :—

Hecataeus of Miletus	549-486 B.C.
Herodotus	484-425 B.C.
Ctesias	cir. 400 B.C.
Megasthenes	cir. 302 B.C.
Eratosthenes	276-194 B.C.
Hipparchus	150-126 B.C.
Strabo	B.C. 63-25 A.D.
Pliny the elder	23-79 A.D.
Pomponius Mela	cir 43 A.D.
Periplus of the Erythrean Sea	cir 80 A.D.
Arrian	cir 180 A.D.
Marinus of Tyre	2nd century A.D.
Ptolemy	2nd century A.D.
Cosmas Indicopleustes	cir. 560 A.D.

3. The principal Chinese authorities are —

1. Pan-Ku	1st century A.D.
2. General Pan Ying, son of Pan-Chou and nephew of Pan-Ku	2nd century A.D.
3. Fa-Hien	Betw. 399 and 414 A.D.
4. Gunavarman of Kashmir ; a Buddhist monk	367-431 A.D.
5. Ma-tuan lin. His account of the embassies of South India, in the sixth century A.D.	6th century A.D.
6. Dharma Gupta—a native of Gujarat, became a monk and went to China in 590 A.D. His memoirs.	d. 619 A.D.
7. Yüan-Chuang.	629-645 A.D.

sonal observations, and the Chinese annals also make mention of India and its products, and of certain embassies sent by South Indian kings to China. Such sources furnish information over a period extending up to the first half of the eighth century A.D.

In addition to the information afforded by the Sanskrit writers and foreigners, a large fund of geographical information can be derived from archaeological research, that is to say from inscriptions found in different localities, from the records in temples, from our knowledge of the peoples, and above all from the literature of the main Indian languages.

For a study of the geography and ethnology of ancient India, therefore, we may consult sources foreign as well as indigenous. The present work confines itself to an examination of the Arabic sources.

It is well known that the commerce of India with Greeks and Arabs was very extensive in the centuries preceding the Christian era. While we can get some idea of the country from the many accounts of the Greek and Roman writers from the 6th century B.C. down to the 6th century A.D., there is naturally a complete absence of any Arab account of this period, though there are sufficient proofs to indicate that the Arabs were conversant from earliest times with Ceylon and the coastal cities of India. But the Arabs' knowledge of India from the pre-Christian era down to the 6th century A.D. is a subject still awaiting the attention of scholars.

8. I-Tsing. He reached India by the sea route in 671 A.D. and went back the same way in 685 A.D. after a ten years' stay at Nalanda University. 7th century A.D.
9. Kia-Tan the great Chinese geographer of the 8th century 8th century A.D.
10. Ma-Huan.

Islam became the religion of the Arabs in the 7th century A.D. This spiritual awakening was accompanied by tremendous consolidation among the Arabs, who were soon attempting to establish their supremacy by overthrowing their two powerful opponents, the Persians in the east and the Romans in the west. The first Muslim invasion of India was in 711 A.D. under the command of Qāsim<sup>4</sup> from Baṣra, and secured the temporary conquest of Sind. With the advent of Islam came a great impetus for travel, commerce and adventure, which persisted until the 14th century when the Muslims receded into the background and lost their trade supremacy.

During these seven centuries the Muslims were the chief carriers by land as well as by sea. Many books relating to kingdoms, roads by sea and land, the fauna and flora of various countries, came to be written at the instance of the ruling powers and by enthusiastic travellers. There are also many compilations of such information by men of learning and leisure who, induced by love of knowledge of unknown countries, took pains to meet and enquire from many a traveller to distant lands.

There are materials available for this work from about the ninth to the fourteenth century A.D. Greek and Roman sources carry us only to the sixth century A.D., and first-hand Chinese accounts to the middle of the eighth century. After this nothing can be gathered except from Arabic sources until the close of the twelfth century A.D. Then the Sung annals of the Chinese make their appearance and a century later we have Marco Polo's account of his famous voyage. Thus during the intervening period we are restricted exclusively to Arab writers; hence the importance of the present study.

Some recent scholars have consulted Arabic authorities in connection with their study of Indian geography and ethnology, but as yet their conclusions have remained isolated. No attempt has been made hitherto to consolidate the sum total of all the infor-

4. Muḥammad ibn Qāsim ibn Yūsuf Thaqafī, a cousin of Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf, Governor of Baṣra.

mation that can be obtained from these writers. Hence the present attempt to bridge this gap.

But first it may be advisable to ask ourselves what was the Arabs' conception of India. For there is evidence in their accounts to show that it differed considerably from our idea of India today.

For general purposes the contemporary scholar defines India as Mid-Southern Asia. It falls naturally into two main divisions which form, as it were, two triangles with opposing bases, and show differences in their physical structure. The apex of the northern triangle penetrates deeply into the interior of the Asiatic continent where it is for the most part bordered by lofty mountains while the base is traversed by two great rivers which, rising in these mountains, flow one to the east and one to the west.

The second triangle forms a peninsula surrounded by the sea and contains mountains of moderate elevation, table-lands and a minor river system. Ancient writers regarded the Ganges as the natural division between the North and the South of India. But the moderns, with more reason, divide it into these two triangular portions at a line drawn from the Narbada river on the west to the Mahanadi on the east.

The Arabs, however, had no idea of any divisions of India into North or South. They considered Sind as a separate country and had no clear idea of the geographical extent of the rest of India. Of the many writers only six<sup>5</sup> give a general description of the country as a whole. This in itself argues some idea on their part of the vastness of the land with its many rivers and mountains.

But these six and the other writers all mention many names of places in India as they understood it. Some are in the north and some in the south, and while the majority lie on the peninsular coast on either side, some are in the interior. A glance at the map in which all these places are marked may give an idea of the India known to the Arabs, which is the field of our study.

5. Sulaymān, Ya'qūbī, Ibnu'l Faqīh, Maṣ'ūdī, Qazwīnī, and Abul Fidā.

As the present work is concerned mainly with the Arabs' knowledge of the country south of the Narbada river, the names of places referred to are grouped under three categories, arranged each in alphabetical order. In the text, those places that are definitely known to be in Southern India are given in one list. In another list are included those of doubtful situation. Those that are definitely known to be in the North are included in a third list in the appendix, although in all cases, the places mentioned by Birūnī are not included.

Of the original Arabic works\* with which we are dealing, only the account of Sulaymān and those of the writers after 1200 A.D. can be studied in the light of contemporary foreign accounts. The rest stand by themselves and we must accept them at their face value, though a comparative study of these accounts with available indigenous sources may be of great interest.

The accounts of India as gathered from different writers may be classified under the following heads :—

1. Geography.
2. Ethnology.
3. Kings and Kingdoms.
4. Products.

A critical analysis and classification of contents under different heads show that these authors can be gathered under five broad groups, though strict unity cannot be established among writers of one particular group. Eight writers from Ibn Khurdādhbeh to Mas'ūdī and Abul Faraj form one group ; Istakhri, Ibn Ḥawqal and Maqdisī another ; Birūnī is in a class by himself ; five writers from Idrīsī to Abul Fidā form another separate group, and Ibn Battūṭa also stands apart.

The information dealt with under ethnology affords ample justification for grouping together the first eight writers. A glance at the analysis of details reveals each writer's connection with the other members of the group, and the absence of this affinity with

\* See Appendix A.

the other groups indicates that times have changed and with them the interest of the succeeding writers.

*Sulaymān—His Date.*

Some forty-four sub-headings under ethnology include nineteen references to Sulaymān, twelve to Abū Zayd, eleven to Mas'ūdī and to Ibnu'l Faqīh; four to Ibn Rusta and to Ibn Khurdādhbeh and three to Abul Faraj. Sulaymān, Abū Zayd, Mas'ūdī and Ibnu'l Faqīh may therefore be taken as the chief writers of this group, yet the points mentioned by Sulaymān are often touched upon by Ibnu'l Faqīh and Mas'ūdī, sometimes by Ibn Rusta, and on rare occasions by Ibn Khurdādhbeh and Abul Faraj. As the avowed purpose of Abū Zayd was to examine, correct and add to Sulaymān's account, he has new information, though occasional similarity is noticed between him and Mas'ūdī.

Apart from the relationship of Sulaymān with the succeeding writers in this group, this author has, nevertheless, some original information which is neither repeated nor confirmed nor refuted by the writers, with the exception of Abū Zayd, who came after him.

All this points to the fact that the account of Sulaymān is the earliest,—the fountainhead of all knowledge of the East for the succeeding generation of writers and readers in Arabic.

This account of Sulaymān is contained in the *Silsilat-al-Tawārikh*, which was edited and printed by Langles, in Paris, in the year 1811—A.D. from the only manuscript known to exist in Europe. This printed volume consists of two parts: the first part (pp. 1—59) is believed to be the account of Sulaymān, and the second part (pp. 60—147) is without doubt the composition of a certain Abū Zayd.

A close study of the book inclines one to ask the following questions :

(1) Is the first part, the work of a single traveller? (2) Is it by Sulaymān? (3) Is the title “*Silsilat-al-Tawārikh*” a correct one? (4) Does the ‘First book’ (الكتاب الأول) with the date

237 A.H. mentioned by Abū Zayd in the opening of his account<sup>6</sup> refer to pp. 1—59 of the printed volume?

Although the examination of these issues does not strictly fall within the scope of the present study, a few observations may not here seem out of place and they may form the basis for future research.

A careful study of the first part (pp. 1—59) will show that the authorities are quoted in three different forms, in the third person plural five times,<sup>7</sup> first person singular five times,<sup>8</sup> and first person plural three times.<sup>9</sup> There is no indication in the text as to the identity of the individuals quoted. Sulaymān's name is mentioned only once,<sup>10</sup> followed by an account, consisting of ten lines, of the Muslim qāzī in *Khānfū* (Canton). Then in the last line of the same page the "informant" changes, and the long narrative which follows, is put in the third person plural. After this we do not find Sulaymān's name mentioned anywhere, nor any other evidence to suggest that he is the narrator in the whole account.<sup>11</sup>

6. See text, p. 60.

7. See text, pp. 14, 22, 23.

8. See text, pp. 49, 51, 52, 55, 57.

9. See text, pp. 30, 45, 46.

10. See text, p. 14, line 4.

11. On page 13, "Voyage du Marchand Arabe Sulaymān en Inde et en Chine," Ferrand says:

"Le texte du manuscrit No. 2281 comprend deux livres. Le livre I a été rédigé par Sulaymān lui-même ou par un scribe inconnu d'après les récits du Marchand Sulaymān, qui effectue plusieurs voyages en Inde et en Chine. A la page 51 du texte édité par Langles, il est dit que Sulaymān revit un faqir dans un endroit de l'Inde où il l'avait vu une première fois seize ans auparavant."

و من ثم العريان . . . . . فقد رأيت برجلان من ثم عصمت ثم اضرفت  
و عدت بعد سنت عشرين سنة فرأيته على تلك الحال فتحججت كيف لم تسل  
عبيه من حر الشميس . . . . . p. 51, Text.

As the sentence is formed in the first person singular, Ferrand thinks that it must refer to Sulaymān. But this passage occurs on p. 51 while the actual mention of the name of Sulaymān is on p. 15. In the intervening thirty-seven

But a reading of these fifty-nine pages will convince anyone that the account is only a report from various persons, who may have travelled at different periods and have given currency to their respective knowledge and experience. The contents of the book also justify such a conclusion. There is a good deal of general information on the seas, the islands, the sea route from Sirāf to China, a description of the habits, government, religion, social customs, and national or tribal characteristics of the Chinese and the Indians. These details are given in the form of a report, a collection of facts and fancies which could have been gathered from merchants, travellers, sailors and adventurous men, rather than the genuine account of a single traveller. Nor were facilities lacking for the collection of such information. Sirāf<sup>12</sup> was a commercial port of

pages the person of the narrative is changed many times. It is inconsistent with known conventions of the Arabic writing to connect these two passages with the same source.

12. Sirāf, is a town in Persia, on the Persian Gulf which flourished from the fourth to the tenth century. The houses, of several storeys, were built of teak and other woods brought from Zangbār; it was supplied with water from springs tapped in the mountain Djamm which dominates it from close at hand. The creation of an emporium on the island of Qays ruined it by taking away its Indian trade. It had no adequate harbour, and the ships used to moor in an arm of the sea eight miles off, to be sheltered from the wind.

The inhabitants were engaged in sea-trade and were sometimes absent from home for years; they had amassed great wealth by dealing in spices and other merchandise. They had built sumptuous houses but they were noted for their voluptuousness and lack of serious thought. Sirāf was also the warmest place in the district, so hot, indeed, that one could not take a siesta there. Under the 'Abbāsides it was the principal town of the district of Ardashir-Khurra; it began to decline under the Büyids; destroyed by an earthquake which lasted seven days in 366 or 367 A.H. (977 A.D.); it was afterwards rebuilt. Its ruins may be seen at Bandar Tāhīrī.

A legend says that the mythical king Kai-Kā'ūs when he tried to ascend the heavens, fell down in this country and asked for water and milk to be brought him; this story has been invented to justify a popular etymology (Persian—*shir*—‘milk’, *āb*—‘water’). According to Yāqūt, the merchants pronounced its name *Shilāw*, which is connected with the above etymology. Mention is also made of a spring of fresh water which existed here at the bottom of the sea.—*Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. IV, p. 444.

great importance; ships from India and the East Indies came up to its quays, and amidst such a concourse of traders and trade news from ends of the world, anyone who had the imagination could have composed an account bringing in all information current then whether new or old. The fact that *Abū Zayd* who examined the first book never mentions Sulaymān's name, should not be lost sight of. Nor do we find reference to his name in the writings of succeeding writers except in the book of *Ibnul Faqīh* who quotes Sulaymān only once for the account of the sea route from *Sīrāf* to China.<sup>13</sup> But in the first book of *Silsilat-al-Tawārīkh* the authority for this statement is not Sulaymān. The information about the sea-route, in some respects more ample than that quoted by *Ibnul Faqīh*, is given in the third person plural.<sup>14</sup> *Ibnul Faqīh*'s attribution of it to Sulaymān is probably due to the fact that it immediately follows the passage on the Muslim *qāzī* at *Khānfū* which is given on the authority of Sulaymān. It may be observed also that in certain details<sup>15</sup> *Kitāb-al-Buldān* of *Ibnul Faqīh* in the edition edited by de Géoje seems to be inaccurate and incomplete. Even if it is granted, however, that Sulaymān is the narrator of the whole account of sea route from *Sīrāf* to China and that this forms a part of his very meagre narrative, it cannot be held as sufficient basis for the belief that he is the author of the whole of the first part (pp. 1—59).<sup>16</sup>

13. See *Kitāb al-Buldān*-*Ibnul Faqīh*, pp. 11-13.

14. *Silsilat-al-Tawārīkh*, pp. 14-21.

15. *Ibnul Faqīh* who generally follows the first book of *Silsilat-al-Tawārīkh* says (pp. 15-16) that the people of Hind believe that the origin of their books is from *Qumār*. This is contrary to the statement in *Silsilat-al-Tawārīkh* which says (p. 57): 'The Chinese have no sciences. In fact their religion was derived from Hind. They believe that the people of Hind erected idols for them. They also consider them as people of religion.' In his *Kitāb aṭ-ṭabar-al-Bilād* (p. 69) *Qazwīnī* quotes *Ibnul Faqīh* for his information on the punishment for drinking in the kingdom of *Qumār*, but this is not found in de Géoje's edition of *Ibnul Faqīh*.

16. It is on this passage in *Ibnul Faqīh* (p. 11) that Ferrand bases his argument that Sulaymān is the narrator in the whole book of the first part of *Silsilat-al-Tawārīkh*. See *Notes de Géographie Orientale par Ferrand—Journal Asiatique*, Janvier-Mars, 1923.

It may also be noticed that the fact Abū Zayd was commissioned to examine the reports is possibly the best argument against this work being the narrative of a single traveller.

What then was the title of the book placed in the hands of Abū Zayd for purposes of examination ? As the title of Abū Zayd's account is "The second book of the Reports on China and Hind,"<sup>17</sup> the natural presumption is that the first book also had that name.<sup>18</sup> The authority on which Langles, the editor of the manuscript, arrived at the present title "سلسلة التواریخ" (Chain of chronicles) is that of a former owner of the manuscript who supplied the place of the missing pages with a few introductory sentences. This title would however lead one to expect a work of history, which might of course contain much other information.

Abū Zayd says : "I found the date of the (first) book as 237 A.H." (851 A.D.). Which is that book ? If it refers to the first book as it stands in print, we do not find therein any mention of that date. It is true, on the other hand, that the first pages of the only known manuscript are missing. Thus in the absence of more positive evidence the conclusion that the date found by Abū Zayd relates to pp. 1—59 of the printed volume must remain only a conjecture. Assuming that it is the book intended by Abū Zayd the question arises whether the date refers to the date of actual composition or the date of the copy. Here again clear evidence is lacking to establish that the year 237 A.H. refers to the date of composition.

These considerations incline me to the view that there must have been some book, a compendium of different accounts by various travellers and navigators of different periods including Sulaymān, compiled by some writer whose name and date are not known. It served as a source book of information on the east for subsequent writers, because great similarity is noticeable between the

17. الكتاب الثاني من اخبار الصين والهند Text, p. 60.

18. This view is already expressed by Reinaud in his *Discours Préliminaire* to the translation, p. XII.

facts mentioned in this book known to us, and those in the works of later writers such as Ibnul Faqīh, Mas'ūdī and others. It must have also held the imagination of the people at large as the *Arabian Nights* of a later period, and truly one does not fail to see in it the precursor of the wonderful stories of *A Thousand and One Nights*. Hence the Book I (pp. 1—59) of *Silsilat-al-Tawārikh* edited by Langlés may be taken to represent the knowledge possessed by the Arabs from the earliest times prior to 851 A.D., and for convenience will be referred to as the account of 'Sulaymān' in the course of this work.

#### FIRST GROUP

Eight writers from Ibn Khurdādhbeh to Mās'ūdī and Abul-Faraj form the first group.

*Ibn Khurdādhbeh*, 844—848. A.D.

Ibn Khurdādhbeh, in his book draws up official notices of the principal trade routes, gives here and there passages of general interest, has a chapter on the East and on the Eastern route to the farthest point known. He is the first author to describe with a fair degree of accuracy the leading cities on the west coast of India, even mentioning Conjeevaram on the east coast. As Director of Posts and Police in Media he had great facilities for ascertaining details about each particular he wanted to discuss. The suspicion that he might have had access to Sulaymān is partially confirmed when we read of his account of the Balharā. Sulaymān was the first writer who stated that the 'Balharā' is the title common to every member of that line of sovereigns, like the title Kisrā and such titles and that it is not a proper name. Ibn Khurdādhbeh takes up this point and develops it further, adding more details quite in accordance with his professional calling. Sulaymān says that the kingdom of the Balharā begins from the sea coast, comprising the country called Kamkam, and extends by land as far as China. Ibn Khurdādhbeh, perhaps wishing to remove the vagueness of Sulaymān, says simply that the Balharā resides in Kamkam, and gives the additional information that teak is grown in Kamkam.

Ibn Khurdādhbeh has also other sources. He quotes Jāḥiẓ and various travellers. He gives the description of the pepper plant as he heard of it from the navigators.

*Ya‘qūbī*, 875 or 880 A.D.

Ya‘qūbī, as he himself says, started making his enquiries about various places and distances from an early age. Thus he writes mostly from knowledge gained by enquiry. He quotes from works of other writers. His information on South India is vague and meagre, but his *Fragmenta* gives information on products.

*Ibnul Faqīh*, 902 A.D.

*Ibnul Faqīh* mostly follows Sulaymān and occasionally quotes ‘Abdullāh-ibn-‘Amr-ibn al-‘Āṣ.

*Ibn Rusta*—vers, 903 A.D.

*Ibn Rusta* may have had access to the writings of Sulaymān and Ibn Khurdādhbeh. This can be ascertained from a reading of his account of the Balharā. He also quotes some writers by name, as Abū ‘Abdullāh Muḥammad ibn Ishāq<sup>19</sup> and others without mentioning their names. He gives also some information not mentioned by anyone previously.

*Abū Zayd*, 950 A.D.

*Abū Zayd*, the nephew of the governor of Sirāf originally undertook the simple task of reading, revising, and re-issuing the book supposed to be the account of Sulaymān. As he lived long after Sulaymān, he is naturally led into a compilation of a supplementary account in which he corrects some mistakes of the older narratives and also records fresh accounts of travellers like Ibn Wahab, besides including other details which he acquired by reading and questioning travellers to various countries. *Abū Zayd* was a contemporary and friend of *Mas‘ūdī* who had far better knowledge, however. There are several parallels between the accounts of the two writers. *Mas‘ūdī* met *Abū Zayd* in 303 A.H. and he acknowledges having derived information from him, though *Abū Zayd* never

19. See note on p. 175 in this book.

mentions *Mas'ūdī* by name, but refers to him as a 'trustworthy person'.

*Mas'ūdī*—943 and 955 A.D.

Unlike the writers mentioned so far, *Mas'ūdī* was a great traveller. He visited successively Persia, India, Ceylon, the lands of Central Asia from Ferghana to the Caspian, the countries of Northern Africa, Spain and various parts of the Greek or Eastern Empire. He is generally reckoned to be an excellent observer and a first-rate collector and transmitter of curious lore. But his account of India, particularly of Southern India, does not give special indication of his originality. As a traveller he has acquired a great deal of original information, yet he identifies himself too much with Sulaymān's account. He also says that he met Abū Zayd al-Hasan, of whom he speaks as a 'a man of much information and intelligence', and learnt about the travels of Ibn Habbār and many other details. Abū Zayd also was benefitted by the information supplied by *Mas'ūdī*.

The great similarity between the accounts of Sulaymān and *Mas'ūdī* suggests that the latter might have had a copy of the so-called *Silsilat-al-Tawārikh* and incorporated some of these points into his own book with other details which he had gathered from his travels. At the same time it is clear that *Mas'ūdī* did not blindly follow that book ; for, he has given definite information on points common to himself and Sulaymān. For example *Mas'ūdī* does not say that the title 'Balharā' means 'king of kings'. But despite such instances, *Mas'ūdī* lacks independence and it is regrettable that he has repeated so many of the facts mentioned by Sulaymān. From such a traveller we should expect clear information, and in this respect he is disappointing.

*Abul Faraj*—988 A.D.

*Abul Faraj* has given us more original information on idols and on various religious sects than any other writer before or after him. He quotes the work of al-Kindī. He mentions some men by name, such as Muḥammad Ibn Ishāq al-Warrāq, Abu Dulaf Yanbū'i; other authorities are cited without name but are qualified as 'trustworthy men' and he gives facts ascertained from mendi-

cants. As his information is chiefly concerned with ethnology, he is grouped with the writers who deal principally with this. Apart from this, there is no justification for bringing him into this group as he is quite independent of these writers.

Thus the knowledge of the writers of this period—from about the ninth century A.D. to the middle of the tenth century A.D.—on India does not appear to be very superior from the point of view of geography, though their facts on ethnology afford interesting reading.

### SECOND GROUP

The second group of writers includes *İştakhrī*, *Ibn Hawqal* and *Maqdisī*. Their period (10th century) coincides with the domestic revolution which transferred the military power of the 'Abbāsides to their Turkish mercenaries. Though the political coherence and persistence of the Arab race had already begun to wane, its intellectual vigour did not slacken. After this period the leadership of scientific interests, especially geographical, now falls more and more into the hands of strangers from foreign countries, men who were not Arabs by blood, who were indeed religious but not political subjects of the Caliph. *Bīrūnī*, the greatest geographer of the next group is a client of the Sultan Mahmūd of Ghazna, and a Persian by race. It is during this period that we observe the development of a literary geographical school which was to exert a lasting influence on succeeding generations of writers, Muslim as well as Christian. Arab and Muslim writers of this period were steadily becoming more and more scientific and thorough as the contents of their books indicate. Though their works are still based to a large extent on those of the earlier writers, yet they are enriched by the knowledge gained by later conquests and greater intercourse with foreign countries. Most of the writers of this era were travellers themselves. But the members of this group are distinguished from those of the foregoing one in that they paid very little attention to non-Muslim countries, such as the countries and islands in the far east, or to the various legendary stories. Thus we miss in their writings the details which we can gather from *Sulaymān* and later from *Mas'ūdī* and *Abul Faraj* on the Indians, their habits, customs,

religion and religious sects. Again the lack of interest in non-Muslim countries explains the scanty information on India that we can obtain from these writers. They speak mostly of Sind, and Hind indeed is given a subordinate place in their writings and is dealt with under the chapter on Sind.

*Iṣṭakhrī*—950 A.D.

*Iṣṭakhrī* shows his acquaintance with the works of previous writers, but offers new information on the points touched on by older writers and thus testifies to the spirit of the new age.

*Ibn Hawqal*—975 A.D.

*Ibn Hawqal* follows *Iṣṭakhrī* in all points, even in the plan of discussing Hind under the section on Sind. But, at times, he is content to repeat previous writers. 'The title *Balharā* is a common title' is not found in *Iṣṭakhrī* but in *Sulaymān* and *Ibn Khurdādhbeh*.

*Maqdisī*—985 A.D.

*Maqdisī* also is indebted to some of his predecessors such as *Ibn Khurdādhbeh*, yet he seems to be more independent. He does not mention the *Balharā* at all. From his account of *Wayhind* (*Wohind*) we understand that he gathers his information from wandering *faqīrs* and travellers who had actually visited these places and whom he believed to be trustworthy.

### THIRD GROUP

*Bīrūnī*—973—1048. A.D.

Though *Bīrūnī* is one of the best writers of the tenth century whose characteristic feature has been noticed under the second group of writers, yet he must be considered as in a class by himself. He has nothing in common with the Muslim writers of his period. His works are far ahead of those of his predecessors. His famous description of India is unparalleled. He is not surpassed in the field of his study by anyone either before or after him. He is independent in his thoughts about religion and philosophy. He always comes forward courageously as a champion of his own convictions. His interests in India, Indian science, especially Indian philosophy and the general tendencies in his works were the chief causes that hindered the study of *Bīrūnī* by the succeeding generation.

Bīrūnī is left out in the present scheme of study for the following reasons. He is not referred to by the writers coming after him until the time of Abul Fidā. Even he refers only to his *Qānūn* for the purpose of quoting longitudes and latitudes. Secondly his works on India have been most ably translated and published by Dr. Sachau. Finally, the most important reason is that his works on India contain only a sketch of South India and the Southern sea. He has no information on the people of South India, their religion and culture. He is particularly silent on Saivaism and Vaishnavism, the two great religious sects of the extreme south of the Indian peninsula.

#### FOURTH GROUP

The writers from Idrīsī to Abul Fidā form the fourth group of writers.

The years preceding the time of Idrīsī were less brilliant; they witnessed events which disturbed the ideal unity of the Islamic world. Its eastern half was invaded about 1050 A.D. by the Seljuq Turks, while in the west, the island of Sicily, a greater portion of Spain and a few places on the African coast were conquered by the Christian rulers. Thus the Islamic world lost its political strength, though this reappeared for a short while in the struggle against the Crusaders.

#### *Idrīsī—1154 A.D.*

The most brilliant author in this group is Idrīsī. He wrote his book on geography at the instance of King Roger of Sicily who had sent in all directions for information to be incorporated in his study. He cites in his preface the various authors<sup>20</sup> whose works he had employed in the compilation of the book. As Idrīsī wrote under royal patronage he had great opportunities. He had ample facilities

20.

كتاب العجائب للمسعودي - كتاب ابن نعمر سعيد الجيhami - كتاب ابن القاسم عبد الله بن خروذبة  
 كتاب احمد بن العذري - كتاب ابن القاسم محمد الموقلي - كتاب جاناخ بن خاتان - كتاب موسى بن قاسم  
 كتاب احمد بن يعقوب - كتاب اسحق بن المحسن - كتاب قدامة البصري - كتاب بطيلموس الاقلودي -  
 كتاب ابر سيوس الانطاكي

for gathering information. He might, therefore, have composed a work with greater critical judgment. Unhappily his mental outlook was strictly limited by the spirit of his age. He simply repeats Ibn Khurdādhbeh in his statement about the caste system of Indians, with few alterations. Perhaps the same system might have continued from the time of Ibn Khurdādhbeh to Idrīsī. But it is highly doubtful whether the kingdoms and the line of kings in India, especially in South India had remained intact since the days of Ibn Khurdādhbeh and his group of writers. Idrīsī repeats the Balharā story as found in the first group of authors with, as usual, some additional information. Ibn Khurdādhbeh lived in the ninth century. Idrīsī worked at the court of the Norman King Roger II of Sicily (1101-1154). The early history of South India shows, during these periods, great changes in kingdoms and the line of kings. But the accounts of these kings by the Arab writers like Sulaymān, Ibn Khurdādhbeh, Mas'ūdī and Idrīsī who lived in different times from about the ninth to the twelfth centuries A.D. do not change. The same Balharā, the king of kings, originally stated by Sulaymān, is retained in the accounts of the Arab authors right up to Idrīsī's time and to some extent even to the period of Dimishqī. Idrīsī never pauses for a moment to consider whether the statements made by his predecessors were correct and whether they are current and true in his time. Instead he models his accounts on his predecessors' though he always gives a certain amount of additional information. Hence it is difficult to find much to praise in his work, although it contains ample information.

A study of Idrīsī's account of India shows that he is dependent to a great extent on his predecessors, especially the first group of writers whom he amplifies with greater details but without critical analysis. Further he does not give much proof of his knowledge of the Iṣṭakhrī group and he does not seem to have known Bīrūnī's works.

Yāqūt—1179-1229 A.D.

Yāqūt has compiled his big geographical dictionary which contains all geographical names in alphabetical order, and its interest

is both geographical and biographical. The portions that pertain to India show that they are chiefly based upon the account of Abū Dulaf. Yāqūt is peculiarly interesting in the present study in that he is the first to give us the names 'Malibār' and 'Ma'bar', though the name 'Manibar' is already known to us through Idrīsī.

*Qazwīnī*—1203-1283 A.D.

*Qazwīnī* is the author of a cosmography and geography. His accounts show that he follows Yāqūt for the most part quoting the same source, Abū Dulaf. Sometimes he takes information from Ibnu'l Faqīh, a writer of the first group. Thus the facts we learn from Sulaymān to Idrīsī are not found in these two writers who have more in common between them, and give new information.

*Dimishqī*—vers 1325 A.D.

*Dimishqī* is a better and more original geographer. There are references in his book to the works of Mas'ūdī, Ibn Hawqal and Yāqūt, yet his account contains some amplifications, as does Idrīsī's, but unlike the latter author, he does not enlarge the points mentioned by the earlier writers. He has totally new names of places, and accounts not found in any of the previous writers. Indeed his list of place names on the west coast is the biggest. He is the first to divide Ma'bar into small and big Ma'bars. On the whole he shows clear conceptions of Guzarat, Malabar and Ma'bar, though there is some confusion in his account of Guzarat. *Dimishqī* does not seem to have known the earliest works, like that of Ibn Khurdādhbeh, for he does not mention Sandān, nor associate Kamkam with teak,—facts which were so popular with earlier writers. He does not show acquaintance with Idrīsī's works.

The above considerations show that *Dimishqī* is more original and painstaking in collecting information from various sources. The references in his book to a large number of the works of other writers give us an idea of the sources of his information.

*Abul Fidā*—1273-1331 A.D.

The works of *Abul Fidā*, though well-known, are based upon earlier works. He derives his information on India chiefly from

Ibn Sa'īd, Idrīsī, 'Azīzī<sup>21</sup> and Birūnī and from various travellers. He quotes longitudes and latitudes from the *qānūn*<sup>22</sup> and *atwāl*.<sup>23</sup>

It may be observed in conclusion that, of the five writers in this group, Idrīsī and Dimishqī are the only two who give additional information on India.

#### FIFTH GROUP

*Ibn Battūṭa*—vers 1355 A.D.

The geographical literature produced subsequent to the last group of writers cannot claim any great originality except for personal accounts of travellers which had become more numerous by this time. The best known in connection with our study is that of Ibn Battūṭa who journeyed all over the Muslim world and farther eastward to Ceylon and the Maldives.

By the time we come to know Ibn Battūṭa, we have the accounts of many European travellers to the East. A study of the Arabic sources alone for the account of the geography and history of South India will not therefore be very beneficial. For this reason the works of Ibn Battūṭa are not included in the present study though the materials furnished by him have been used to advantage wherever necessary.

21. Ḥasan b. Ahmad al-Muḥallabī (4th century) composed his book *al-Masālik wal-Mamālik* for the Fāṭimide 'Azīz billah. It is, therefore, also known as *Kitāb-al-'Azīzī*. Otto Spies: *An Arab account of India in the fourteenth century*, p. 12.

22. *Al-Qānūn al-Mas'ūdī* by Birūnī (died 448 A.H./1056 A.D.). The *qānūn* is the most valuable work for astronomy and geography written in the middle ages. Birūnī was the first who fixed the longitudes and latitudes of towns with a degree of accuracy which, when the names are transferred to maps, gives us a picture of the country concerned.

23. *Kitāb al-Atwāl*, the author of which is not known. Ḥājjī Khālīfa II, (263 A.H.), does not mention him either, but points out that the greatest part of information given in the book is wrong and incorrect according to the statement of Birūnī. The book is made use of by Abul Fidā. See Otto Spies, pp. 11, 13.

**CHAPTER I**  
**GEOGRAPHY**



## GEOGRAPHY

### (a) GENERAL DESCRIPTION

Six writers, Sulaymān, Ya'qūbī, Ibnu'l Faqīh, Maṣ'ūdī, Qazwīnī and Abul Fidā, give a general description of the country as a whole, but the details they supply have nothing in common among them, though Ibnu'l Faqīh follows Sulaymān in saying that Hind is more extensive than China.

It is evident from all these accounts that the Arabs considered Sind as a separate country and not as a part of India, and that for them 'Hind' included all the islands in the East Indies.

#### *Sulaymān :*

The country of Hind is more extensive than China, several times bigger than that, but China is more populous. The rivers of these two countries are big and some are bigger than our rivers. There are many deserts in Hind, but in China it is cultivable everywhere.

#### *Ya'qūbī :*

The world is divided into seven *iqlīms*. The first *iqlīm* is Hind.<sup>1</sup> Its boundary on the east is the sea and the land of China and it extends as far as Daybul, on the side of 'Irāq, up to the strait of the sea, which is between India and the Hijāz.

#### *Ibnu'l Faqīh :*

Abdullāh ibn 'Amr ibn al 'Ās<sup>2</sup> says that the image of the earth is composed of five limbs..... The right wing is Hind. The

1. 2. Hijāz. 3. Misr. 4. 'Irāq. 5. Rūm. 6. Hag and Magog.  
7. China.

2. Compare:—

و مثل القمر بمورة طائر رأسه الصين والجناح الايمن الهند وال Sind  
والجناح الايسير المزدوج صدره مكة والعراق والشام ومصر وذنبه الغرب

country of Hind is more extensive than China, several times bigger than that, but China is more populous.

*Mas'ūdī :*

Hind is a vast country, having many seas and mountains. It borders on the country of Zābaj (Java), the kingdom of the Maha-rāj, who is the king of the islands and whose dominions separate Hind and China, and are considered as part of Hind.

Hind extends, on the side of the mountains, to Khurāsān and Sind as far as Tibet. Then comes the coast of Sind wherein is Daybul from which begins the coast of Hind up to the country of Barūz; thence one uninterrupted coast stretches as far as China, partly cultivated, partly waste.

*Qazwīnī :*

Hind is a vast country containing many wonderful things. It extends for a three months' journey in length and two months' in width. It has many mountains and rivers. It is associated with very good vegetation and wonderful animals. Merchants only touch the coastal land, and hardly anyone from our country has reached the interior. Hind and Sind are said to be two brothers of the son of Tawqīr ibn Yaqtūn ibn Hām ibn Nūh.<sup>3</sup>

*Abul Fidā :*

Hind : Its boundaries are on the west, the sea of Fārs, which ends with the limits of Sind and adjoining lands; on the south, the Indian Ocean; on the east, the deserts which separate Hind from China; and on the north the land of the Turks.

Some navigators say that Hind consists of Jazrāt, Manibār and Ma'bār.

3. This is a typical Arab invention. The Arabs, a wandering race, with no ties to any particular land or country, are united primarily by a general pride in their tribe. They naturally imagine that the name of every country is that of the tribe and are at great pains to discover the genealogy and the patriarch of the tribe.

(b) LIST OF PLACES IN SOUTHERN INDIA

•*Abātū*<sup>4</sup>:

*Dimishqī* mentions this as one of the seven places in the big Ma'bar.

*Akāntī*<sup>5</sup>:

*Dimishqī* mentions this place as one of the cities on the west coast before Sūbāra.

*Bābattan*<sup>6</sup>:

*Ibn Khurdādhbeh*: Those who follow the way by land from Bullīn will reach Bābattan in two days. Rice is produced here and

4. *بَاطُورٌ* Paris (foot-note in Mehren's edition).

R. If any value could be attached to the order in which these places are mentioned by *Dimishqī*, *Abātū* should be sought for before Tondi in Palk's bay.

Perhaps it may be identified with *Adirāmpattanam*, seven miles south-east of Pattukōttai in the north-west corner of Palk's Bay and at the western end of the great mud swamp that extends as far as Point Calimere.

The Tanjore District Gazetteer (Vol. I, p. 251) says that the name *Adirāmapattanam* is a contraction of *Ati-vira-rāma-pattanam*, the place having been founded by the Pāndyan king *Ativīra-Rāman* (1562-7). It need not be supposed from this statement that the place is of later growth. It might have been an important port before and hence attracted the attention of the Pāndyan king. Even to this day it is an important sea-port and trading town. The trade is chiefly with Ceylon.

5. *بَاسِنْ* R. It may be near Bombay.

6. *بَاسِنْ*

Compare: "At Balbun the route divides; following the shore it takes two days to reach Bās, which is a large place where you can take passage to Sarandip. From Bās to Sajī and 'Askān is two days' journey." *Ibn Khurdādhbeh*—Elliot, Vol. 1, pp. 15-16.

R. For a discussion of the place, see under *Buddfattān*.

A. G.—4.

is exported to Sarandib, (Ceylon). From Bābattan<sup>7</sup> to Sinjli and Kabashkān is one day's distance.

*Banī-Batan*<sup>8</sup>:

*Ibn-Hawqal* mentions Banī-batan as one of the cities of Hind after Saymūr.

*Barqalī*<sup>9</sup>:

*Dimishqī* says that the city of Barqali is situated at the mouth of the river al-Kank<sup>10</sup> on the coast of the sea.

7. Bābattan **بَابَتَنْ** Text, p. 63. F. Note (g) A.h.I. **بَاسِنْ**  
 mox s. p., B. utroque loco **بَاسْ**. Quamquam scripserit Sprenger p. 81.  
 (Am 23 August befanden wir uns Bās gegenüber) tamen non dubium  
 est, eum ita scripsisse conjectura. Nam abbreviatio est nominis quod Cos-  
 mas scribit Pudopetana, Conte Buffetania (Beudifetania) vid. Yule, *Cathay*,  
 p. 448, 453. Apud Edrisī I, 179, 184 respondet **جَرْبَاتْنَ** apud Nowairi  
 (Ajaibul-Hind, ed. v.d. Lith. p. 281) **جَارِبَنْ ۱**, apud  
 Ibn Batuta IV, 82 qui tamen non idem locus est, sed vicinus.  
 Fortasse a nostro non differt **جَرْفَتَنْ** (Ajaibul Hind, p. 276). Dimaschki 173,  
 5 a f. habet **بَدْفَتَنْ** et paullo ante **جَرْفَتَنْ**.

Ferrand has omitted this place.

“Bās” Elliot, p. 16.

8. **الْمَلَيَّاتْنَ** “**مَعْنَى بَنْ**” I hujus loco **مَنِيفَتَنْ** habet. Gildemeister nomen  
 componit cum urbe Malabarica (Abul Fida) Potius conferatur  
 Djih Numa p. 196, 8 a.f., 199, 3.” Ibn. Hawqal p. 227 f. note (h).

R. See under *Buddfattān*.

See Ibn Hawqal, p. 227 and foot note.

9. **بَرْقَلِي**

10. The river Ganges. Evidently it is a mistake on the part of *Dimishqī* to bring in the Ganges to the South.

R. Barqali may be identified with *Bhatkal* or *Susagadi*, twenty-five miles south of Honawar. The town is about three miles from the mouth of the river, which at high water is navigable by boats of a half to two tons. No vessels but coasters visit the port. The want of good

*Barūṣ*<sup>11</sup> :

Four writers, *Mas'ūdī*, *Idrīsī*, *Yāqūt* and *Dimishqī*, make mention of the place *Barūṣ*.<sup>12</sup>

*Mas'ūdī*: From Daybul begins the coast of Hind up to the country of *Barūṣ* whence the *Barūṣī* qanna<sup>13</sup> has its name.

*Idrīsī* gives more detailed information. *Barūj* is in the second climate ; it is a large, handsome town, well-built of bricks and plaster. The inhabitants possess great perseverance ; they are rich and engaged in trade ; they freely enter upon speculations and embark on distant expeditions. *Bārūj* is a port for vessels coming from China as it is also for those from Sind.

communications with Mysore and the country above the Sahyadris has driven away trade. Though the town is now in a state of decay, no town on the Canara coast shows more signs of prosperity in the past. None have such well-walled gardens and houses, strong and extensive embankments and so many remains of carved masonry. *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XV, pt. II, pp. 266-67.

In 1321 A.D. Friar Jordanus notices after the Kingdom of Maratha, a Saracen king of Batigala. *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XV, pt. II, p. 271.

11.	بروچ	<i>Mas'ūdī</i>
<i>Idrīsī</i> Ms. Poc. 375	بروچ - بروچ	Ms. Gr. 42
	بَرْوَص	
	بَرْوَص	<i>Yāqūt</i>
	بروچ	<i>Dimishqī</i>
	بروچ - دیقال بروچ	
	وَالْيَهَا يَنْسِبُ الْمَاءُ	<i>Nuwayrī</i> , pt. I, p. 237.

*Barūh* (*Barūch/Broach*) and *Barūṣ*—*Elliot*, Vol. I, pp. 86-7.

R. This is identified with Broach.

12. Ships from the western countries came, according to the author of the *Periplus*, to *Barugaza* or *Bharukachchha*, the modern Broach ; and the merchandise brought by them was thence carried to the inland countries. Onyx stone in large quantities from *Paithan*, and ordinary cotton, muslins, mallow, coloured cottons and other articles of local production from *Tagara*, were carried in waggons to *Barugaza* and thence exported to the West. *Early History of the Dekkan*—*Ramakrishna Gopal Bhandarkar*, 1895, p. 42.

13. *Cinnabar*—*Mas'ūdī-Sprenger*.

From Barūj to Saymūr is a two days' journey, while the distance to Nahrwārah<sup>14</sup> is eight *marhalas*<sup>15</sup> by land. Opposite the sea-port town of Barūj lies the island Malaq ملق<sup>16</sup> which produces pepper in large quantities. From this island to Sandān is two days' journey. From Barūj along the coast to Sindābūr is four *marhalas*.<sup>17</sup>

*Yāqūt* : The gulf which begins after Kanbāya extends as far as Barwaş, a big city.

*Dimishqī* : The city Barūş has a vast territory with four thousand villages. It is situated on a bay where the tide ebbs and flows, which extends for two days' journey. There is an abundant supply of pepper and bamboos here.

Thus it seems apparent that the accounts of these four writers have little in common between them.

*Bāsrūr*<sup>18</sup> :

*Abul Fidā* : From Hannūr to Bāsrūr, a small town, and behind Bāsrūr is Manjarūr.

14. The journey to Nehrwārah lies through flat country where people travel in carriages on wheels. In all Nehrwārah and its environs there is no other mode of travelling except in chariots drawn by oxen under the control of a driver. These carriages are fitted with harness and are used for the carriage of goods. Between Barūj and Nehrwārah there are two towns one called Hanāwal, the other Dūlaqa. Dūlaqa is on the banks of a river which flows into the sea, forming an estuary, on the west of which stands Barūj, the name of which is also pronounced Barūz. *Idrisi* MSS.

15. 'Eight days,' Elliot, Vol. I, p. 87.

16. ملق *Idrisi* Ms. Gr. 42, Bodleian Library.

"Mullan" Elliot, Vol. I, p. 89.

17. 'four days', Elliot, Vol. I, p. 89.

18. باسرور

R. It is Bēsrūr, the Kanarese Basuri, "the town of the waved-leaf fig tree." (Hobson-Jobson, p. 45).

Bāsrūr is at a distance of four miles from Coondapoor, east. It was

**Biyyardāwal<sup>19</sup> :**

*Abul Fidā* : Biyyardāwal is the *qaṣba* of Ma'bar ; it is a city where the Sultan of Ma'bar resides. Horses are imported here from other countries.

**Buddfattān<sup>20</sup> :**

After *Jurfattan*, *Dimishqī* mentions *Dahfattān* and *Buddfattān*.

once a large walled town with a fort and temple and is mentioned as an important trading place by all the geographers, Arabs and others by the names of Bracelor, Brazzalor, Bracelor, Bachelor, and as Abu-sarur by *Ibn Battūṭa*. It is interesting to note that *Abul Fidā* has used the correct form.

Though now almost deserted, the walls and watergates of the city still remain in a good state of preservation.

A *Rāni* of Bāsrūr is mentioned by *Ferishta* as having paid her respects to Sankara Nayak, a Yādhava king of Dēvagirī, early in the 14th century. In the sixteenth century, Coondapoor or lower Bāsrūr became a possession of the Portuguese, and early in the eighteenth century a Dutch factory was also established there.

Bāsrūr is also supposed by some to be the Barace of Pliny.

See *Manual of South Canara District*, Vol. II, p. 242 ; *Cathay and the way thither*, Vol. IV, p. 73 ; *Journal of Bengal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XV, p. 226.

## 19. بیرداول.

R. see under Ma'bar.

20. بد فتّان p. 173. Foot-note on the same page : "Les trois mnscrts. om., les deux noms sont écrits dans le mnscrt. de Par قینان et بر تختن.

بای بتن *Ibn Khurdādhbeh*.

بنی بتن *Ibn Hawqal*,

بد فتّان *Dimishqī*,

R. It is Valarappattanam, or Baliapatam or Azhikkal, a thriving Mappilla town, five miles from Cannanore on the coast road, a minor port.

*Bullin*<sup>21</sup> :

*Ibn Khurdādhbeh* : Bullin is reached after two days' journey from Mulay. At Bullin, the way parts into two, one continuing by sea and the other by land. Those who follow the way by land from Bullin will reach Bābattan, proceeding thence to, Sinjli and Kabashkān, to Kūdāfarīd, to Kaylkān, Lawā and Kanja, to Samandar, to Ūrnashīn and finally to Abīna.

of some importance, and a station on the South Indian Railway. It is situated on the south bank of the river of the same name close to its mouth.

The town is rich in Malayalam and Mapilla traditions. Vallabha Perumāl, the eleventh of the Perumāls, here found a *lingam* and built a shrine over it and a fort to protect it on the banks of the Neytāra, as the river was then called. Valarapattanam was his chosen seat and the residence appointed by him for the kings of Kerala. In Chēramān Perumāl's time it was, with Trikkariyūr and Tirunāvāyai, one of the three holy places of Malabar. Subsequently it became one of the principal places of the Kōlattiri Rāja. *Gazetteer of the Malabar and Anjengo Districts*, Vol. I, p. 399, Chirakkal Taluk. See foot-notes under *Bābattan* and *Banibattan*.

Yule who discusses at length the medieval ports of Malabar indicates with some accuracy the locality, but he is not definite in his conclusions. He says, "the name is not found in modern maps, but it must have been near the Waddakarre of Keith Johnston's." See Yule, *Cathay and the way thither*, Vol. IV, pp. 76-77.

We learn from Ibn Baṭṭūṭa that Jurfattan, Dahfattan and Budfattan were under the sway of Kuwayl one of the most powerful sultans of Malabar.

21. Text p. 63. بَلْيْن . Foot note (c) Sic A.h.l.c. voc., mox بَلْيْن et بَلْيْن B.h.l. بَلْيْن infra. بَلْيْن .

Elliot—Ibn Khurdādhbeh—p. 15. "From Mali to Balbun is 2 days' journey." Foot note 8. "Balin in the Paris version."

Idrīsi. poc. مَنْ بَلْيِق Graves. Idrīsi.

'Balbak,' Elliot, Vol. I, p. 89.

"Celui qui veut aller a la Chine se rend, apres avoir quitte Bullin." f.n. 6, p. 26; بَلْيْن p. 43: du meme ouvrage: (De Bullin a Sirandib, une journee). "Bullin est done situe a une journee de Ceylan." Ferrand: Vol. I, p. 26.

Those who take the way from Bullin by sea will reach Sarandib after a day's journey, or, according to another version, after two days' journey.<sup>22</sup>

*Idrīsī*: From Sandān to the island Balīq, he says, is two day's journey. Balīq is (a big island and is populated).<sup>23</sup> It produces many<sup>24</sup> cocoanuts,<sup>25</sup> bananas and rice. It is here that vessels change their courses for different islands of the (Hind) Indies. From Balīq to the place called great abyss<sup>26</sup> is a distance of two days; from Balīq again to the island Sarandib is a journey of one day or more.

22. Then follows the description of the sea route to China:—

“Those who wish to go to China from Bullin, go to Sarandib, then leaving that island to the left, proceed to the island of Nakbālūs at a distance of ten or fifteen days' journey, hence to the island of Kalah, thence to Bālūs, an island situated to the left of Kalah at a distance of two days' journey, thence to the islands of Jābah, Shalāhit, Harlaj which are reached at a distance of two parasangs. Then they touch the island of Māyt which is not very far from Jābah. Proceeding from Māyt they reach the island of Tayūma situated to the left of it. Thence they proceed to Qimār and thence to Ṣanf (Champa) journeying on the coast for three days. Thence they go to Lūqīn. This is the first station in China, at a distance of one hundred parasangs by land and sea from Sanf. From Lūqīn they continue to Khānfū, after four days' journey by sea or twenty days' journey by land. Ibn Khurdādhbeh, pp. 66-69.

23. Elliot's version omits this

24. Elliot omits this

25. Elliot adds 'figs' after cocoanuts

26. *نَبْلَةُ الْعَلَمِ*

R. Bullin may be an island near Saymūr.

It appears from the accounts of the two writers that Bullin is a very important station, the connecting link between the east and west coasts of the Indian peninsula and also the station from where the travellers started to China via Sarandib. (Ceylon).

Professor Minorsky suggests, on the authority of Dr. Barnett that Bullin is Baliapatam, in Chirakkal Taluk, Malabar District, see *Hudūd-al-'Alam*, Translated by V. Minorsky, p. 243.

} See Elliot, Vol. I, p. 89.

*Country of Bulwān*<sup>27</sup> :

*Dimishqī* : The country of Bulwān adjoins the land of Habār on the western side on the coast of the sea. Of its cities, the following are mentioned, Dhabūh, دبوبه on the coast, the city Farthāla مدینۃ فرثالہ سکبیس . Sakbis and the city Sindābūr مدینۃ سندابور . Sindābūr is the *qaṣba*.

*The country of the Cōlas*<sup>28</sup> :

*Dimishqī* refers to the country of the Cōlas and says that it includes the small Ma'bar and the big Ma'bar, both lying on the coast. Goods are carried to these places from the west.

*Dahfattān*<sup>29</sup> :

After Jurfattan, *Dimishqī* mentions Dahfattān and Budfattān.

27. بلوان

R. Bulwān may be identified with *Bayalnad*, which formed one of the four boundaries of the Hoysāla kingdom, the other three being Ālavakheda, Talakād and Sāvimale. For further details see Saletore, *Ancient Karnataka*, Vol. I, p. 269.

28. See under Kingdom (Saylamān), and under Ma'bar.

29. دھفتان Paris ms. has دھینان Refer to footnotes under Budfattān.

R. Dahfattān is *Darmadam* (*Dharmapattanam*) 'the place of charity' an island formed by the junction of the Tellichery and Anjarkkandi rivers just north of Tellichery town. It is sacred to the Malayālis as the place where Chēramān Perumāl took his last farewell of Malabar and sailed for Mecca. Here according to *Tuhfat-al-Mujāhidin*, Mālik Ibn Dīnār founded one of his nine mosques, but not a trace of the building remains. See *Gazetteer of the Malabar and Anjengo Districts*, Vol. I, p. 422.

Ibn Battūta gives a different account. "At Dahfattan," he says, "there is a great *bā'in* and a cathedral mosque, which were built by Kuwayl's

*Daqtan*<sup>30</sup> :

It is mentioned by *Dimishqī* as one of the cities of big Ma'bar before Tandā (Thondi).

*Dawq*<sup>31</sup> :

It is mentioned by *Dimishqī* as one of the cities after Baruś, and placed in the list as the second city above Sūbāra. *Dimishqī* says it is situated on the coast of the sea.

*Fāknūr*<sup>32</sup> :

*Yāqūt* and *Dimishqī* mention *Fāknūr*.

grandfather, who was converted to Islam. Most of the inhabitants of Bud-fattan are Brahmans, who are venerated by the infidels and who hate the Muslims ; for this reason there are no Muslims living amongst them." H. A. R. Gibbs's Transl. of *Ibn Battūta*, p. 234.

Here again Yule, who gives various readings from other travellers, does not arrive at any definite conclusion. See *Cathay and the way thither*, Vol. IV, pp. 76-77.

30. *رَقْنَة* Dhaftan—Mehren—*Dimishqī*, Transl., p. 235.

R. This may be identified with Dēvipattanam, a port now in the Ramnad District about eleven miles due north of Ramnad. It must have been a place of great importance once, although the sea in the port is very shallow now.

31. *دُوقَ* Dhouq. Mehren—*Dimishqī*, Transl., p. 233.

R. It may be near Bombay.

32. *فَاكْنُور* Yāqūt and *Dimishqī*.

R. Fāknūr is Bārkūr. It is the traditional capital of Tuluva. It now stands about three miles inland, but was perhaps originally a coast town on the common estuary of the Sitanadi and Swarnanadi, the little port of Hangarkatta, which now stands there being also known as the port of Bārkūr. It is also one of the towns in which a mosque is said to have been built in the ninth century A.D. by the adherents of Chēramān Perumāl. Later on, it was the local capital of Hoysāl Ballal dynasty.

The traces of a great fort and ruins of Buddhist temples and inscriptions testify that in the fourteenth century Bārkūr was the seat of the viceregal

Yāqūt relates that after leaving Barwaṣ and passing through a curve, you come to the country of Malibār, from where pepper is exported. Its famous cities are Manjarūr and Fāknūr.

Dimishqī mentions that Manibār, adjoins Hunnūr. It is also named as the country of pepper. There are many cities. The chief of them is Fāknūr.

*Fandarīna*<sup>33</sup>:

*Idrīsī* and *Dimishqī* both mention *Fandarīna*, although they have entirely independent information of the place.

*Idrīsī* says that from Tāna<sup>34</sup> to *Fandarīna*<sup>35</sup> is four *marhalas*;<sup>36</sup> from *Fandarīna* to Jurbatan is five *marhalas*.<sup>37</sup> *Fandarīna*

government of the Raja of Vijayanagar. *Manual of South Canara District*, Vol. II, pp. 264-265.

Bārkūr was also known by the following names: Bārakūru, Bārakanūru, Fākanūr, Bārahakanyāpura. For details, see Saletore, *Ancient Karnataka*, Vol. I.

For various readings of the name by non-Arab geographers, see Yule, *Cathay and the way thither*, Vol. IV, p. 73.

Compare Ibn Battūta: "Fākanūr, a large town on an inlet, here there is a large quantity of sugar canes, which are unexcelled in the rest of that country. The chief of the Muslim community at Fākanūr is called Bāsadaw. He possesses about thirty warships, commanded by a Muslim called Lūlā, who is an evil doer and a pirate and a robber of merchants." Gibb's Translation, p. 233.

As this city is not mentioned by early geographers, it may be inferred that the city came into prominence after the eleventh century. A full account of the city can be obtained in *Ancient Karnataka* by Saletore.

33. فندارينة *Idrīsī*, *Dimishqī*.

فانه Bod. Lib. Ms.

فندارينة Nuwayrī, Pt. I. p. 237.

34. Bāna (Tānna), Elliot, Vol. I, p. 89.

35. *Fandarīna* and *Kandarīna*, Elliot, Vol. I, pp. 89, 85.

36. Four days, Elliot, Vol. I, p. 89.

37. Five days, Elliot, Vol. I, p. 90.

is a town built at the mouth of a river that comes from Manibār (Malabar) where vessels from India and Sind cast anchor. The inhabitants are rich, the markets well supplied and trade flourishing. North of this town there is a very high mountain covered with trees, villages and flocks. (Cardamom, which grows on the slopes of this hill is exported to all countries.)<sup>38</sup> The pepper vine grows in the island of Malī as in Fandarīna and Jurbatan, but it is found nowhere else but in these three places.

Dimishqī says that most of the inhabitants of Fandarīna<sup>39</sup> are Jews and Hindus. Muslims and Christians are few in number.

38. "The Cardamom grows here, and forms the staple of a considerable trade." Elliot, Vol. I, p. 90.

39. MSS. St. Pet., and L. have فندارينا See Text p. 173.  
Dimishqī mentions Fandarīna after Buddfattān.

R. It is certainly identified with *Pantalāyini* or *Pantalāyini Kollam*, north of Quilandī, and one of the most historic places of Malabar. It is referred to by all the geographers, Arab as well as non-Arab. The Kollam Raja of Payanad here made his capital, and the Zamorin his conqueror, still has a place in the *desam*. According to *Tuhfat al-Mujāhidīn*, Mālik ibn Dīnār founded one of the mosques at Fandarīna. A natural hollow in a rock on the sea shore close to the mosque has been chiselled into the likeness of a foot, and this mark is said to be the print of Ādām's foot, as he landed in India, his next stride taking him to Adam's peak in Ceylon. Off the town is one of the curious mud banks peculiar to the west coast, and Vasco da Gama probably moved to its shelter from Kappāt where he first touched in 1498 A.D.

The Portuguese made many attacks upon the town and it was strongly defended by bastions on the *Mayyat Kunnu* (grave yard of Kollam). *Gazetteer of the Malabar and Anjengo Districts*, p. 436.

Compare Ibn Baṭṭūṭa: "Fandaryna, a large and a fine town with orchards and bazaars. The muslims occupy three quarters in it, each of which has a mosque. It is at this town that the Chinese vessels pass the winter." Gibb's translation, p. 234.

For various readings from non-Arab geographers, Christian as well as Chinese, see Yule, *Cathay and the way thither*, Vol. IV, p. 77.

The name *Pantalāyini* Kollam is intended to distinguish it from another *Kollam* (Quilon) in the south.

*Fātnī*<sup>40</sup> :

*Dimishqī* mentions Fātnī as one of the cities of big Ma'bar and says that Fātnī<sup>41</sup> is the *qaṣba* of Tandā (Thondi). Fātnī has fallen into ruins ; it has a mountain named Kāward<sup>42</sup> where there is a big volcano.

## 40. فَاطْنَى

41. La capitale Fāmni (Fātnī ?) est a present detruite. Mehren p. 235.

42. See under mountain Kaward.

R. The Tamil word பட்டினம் (pattinam) means a seaport town, and is generally added as a suffix to the name proper by which the place is known, e.g. சென்னப்பட்டினம் (Chennapattinam—Madras) நாகப்பட்டினம் (Nagapattinam—Negapatam). The mere reference to pattinam, or Fattan as the Arab writers call it, does not mean anything, and the reader is left to his own conjecture and imagination as to the possible place meant by the author. In these circumstances, any seaport town lies within the range of conjecture and the identity can be guessed with some amount of success after due consideration of the context in which 'Fattan' appears in the text.

*Dimishqī* refers to Fātnī and from the way in which he speaks, it appears that the place must be in the neighbourhood of Ramnad. This view is further strengthened when we read the account of Ibn Battūṭa. After reading these two accounts it is possible to some extent to say that 'Fātnī' or 'Fattan' must refer to either Dēvipattanam or Kilakkarai. The description by Ibn Battūṭa of 'a fine mosque, built of stone' in Fattan leaves little doubt in the choice of Kilakkarai as the place meant. The mosque still exists there, a beautiful building of stone, very rare in the Tamil districts. Further the mention of 'crazy dervishes' whom Ibn Battūṭa met in Fattan, also points to Kilakkarai where even to-day such *majdhūbs* are seen. Thus the description of Ibn Battūṭa is applicable to Kilakkarai and not to Dēvipattanam which is always a famous place of pilgrimage for the Hindus.

Yule has successfully concluded that the place must be in the vicinity of Ramnad, but he is not able to identify it definitely with any town. See *Cathay and the way thither*, Vol. IV, p. 35, f. n. 1.

Professor Gibb, however, questions Yule's conjecture and thinks it is unlikely if the name Harkāṭu (a place mentioned before Fattan by Ibn Battūṭa) has anything to do with Arcot. But Harkāṭu cannot be Arcot, a city that came into prominence during the wars of the Mughal emperor

*Fūfal*<sup>43</sup>:

Yāqūt refers to the gulf of Fūfal while *Dimishqī* says that the city of Fūfal occupies a big area and that there are within it diving places for small pearls.

*Habār*<sup>44</sup>:

*Dimishqī* says that the city of Habār is on the coast and is mountainous. It has under its control about twenty thousand villages and about thirty fortresses.

Awrangzēb in the seventeenth century. Harkātu must be connected with some other town and not with Arcot. Dr. S. K. Ayyangar's suggestion that it may be identified with Ariyakudi, may be considered. See Dr. S. K. Ayyangar, *South India and her Muhammadan invaders*, pp. 194-6.

*Dimishqī*'s information that Fātnī has fallen into ruins is questionable. He was either misinformed or he confused the information supplied to him by travellers. For details see under 'Mountain Kāward.'

43. خور فرغل Yāqūt.

مدینة فرغل *Dimishqī*.

Yāqūt mentions it after Fākanūr and *Dimishqī* after Barqalī.

R. The coast line of South Canara is indented with numerous creeks and bays formed by the estuaries of rivers, which, taking their rise among the hill ranges of the Western Ghats, run from east to west and flow into the Arabian Sea. The coast line is low and sandy with broken and rugged rocks cropping up in places.

The city of Fūfal referred to by *Dimishqī* may be identified with Bekal, thirty-four miles from Mangalore and seven and a half miles from Kasargod, south-south-east. It contains the largest and best preserved fort in the district, situated on a head-land running into the sea with a fine bay towards the south. This bay may answer to the *Khawr* Fūfal mentioned by Yāqūt. *Manual of South Canara District*, Vol. II, p. 250.

44. هبار The account of Habār is omitted in the MSS. St. Pet.; L and Cop. See Text p. 173. Note d.

*Dimishqī* mentions Habār after Tāna.

R. Habār may be identified with *Kārwār*, properly Kad vad in north latitude  $14^{\circ} 50'$  and east longitude  $74^{\circ} 15'$ . It is the chief town in the *Kārwār* sub-division and is the headquarters of the district of N. Kanara. The town dates

*Hannūr*<sup>45</sup> :

*Dimishqī* and *Abul Fidā* both mention *Hannūr* although each appears to have independent information.

*Dimishqī* relates that *Hunnūr*<sup>46</sup> is on the coast, and has beautiful surroundings, and has under its control ten thousand villages, all inhabited.

*Abul Fidā* says that *Hannūr* is a small beautiful town and has a number of gardens. Some travellers say that the country which

from after the transfer of North Kanara to the Bombay Presidency in 1862. Before the transfer it was a fishing village. The present town and neighbouring offices and residences are in the lands of the fishing villages of *Beitkol*, *Aligadde*, *Kone*, *Kājubāg*, and *Kōdibāg* and of the agricultural village of *Bād*.

Though *Kārwār* is a modern town with little history, the *Kadvad* village about three miles from the mouth of the river from which *Kārwār* takes its name, rose to be one of the chief ports in the Bijapur dominions in the seventeenth century. The first known mention of *Kadvad* is in 1510 as *Caribal* on the other side of the river from *Cintacora* or *Chitakul*.

Thus it may be supposed without much danger of error that the *Habār* of *Dimishqī* may be the *Kadwad* of medieval times which might have been in existence as a port from the days of *Dimishqī*, or some other village in the neighbourhood of *Kadwad*.

*Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XV, Pt. II, Kanara, p. 318.

45.  *Dimishqī*.  
 *Abul Fidā*.

46. *Dimishqī* mentions *Hannūr* after *Sindābūr*.  
*R.* *Hannūr* is modern *Honavar*, the headquarters of the *Honavar* sub-division. It is about two miles from the coast at the mouth of the estuary of the *Shiravati* or *Gersappa* river. See *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XV, Pt. II, Kanara p. 305.

Compare *Ibn Baṭṭūṭa*: *Hinawar*, a day's journey from *Sindābūr*, "is on a large inlet navigable for large ships. During the *pushkāl*, which is the rainy season, this bay is so stormy that for four months it is impossible to sail on it except for fishing." *Gibb's translation*, p. 230.

For various readings from other geographers, see *Yule*, Vol. IV. p. 73.

extends from Sindābūr to Hannūr towards the east comes under Manibār.

*Harqilya*<sup>47</sup> :

• *Dimishqī* : Harqilya is on the coast and has a big area. It has under its control about one thousand<sup>48</sup> villages, situated on hilly tracts as well as on the coast.<sup>49</sup>

*Hili*<sup>50</sup> :

Both *Dimishqī* and *Abul Fidā* mention Hili.

*Dimishqī* mentions Hili after Harqilya.

*Abul Fidā* mentions Ra's Haylī, a mountain situated at a distance of three days' journey behind Manjarūr, a big mountain projecting into the sea and is visible to the navigators from a distance. It is called Ra's Haylī (promontory of Hayli).

47. مدینۃ هرقلیہ

48. 2,000 villages. Mehren—*Dimishqī*, p. 234.

49. 'The coast' is omitted by St. Pet. L. et. Cop. See Text, p. 173.

R. Harqilya may be identified with *Kasargod*, 27 miles from Mangalore. It is built on the Chandragiri river. When the country along the coast was divided by *Mayuravarma* into sixty-four sections under different Brahman governors, this was one of the four centres. It formed the southernmost post of the ancient Tuluva Kingdom, and was also the site of one of the mosques built in the 9th century A.D. by the party of Mālik ibn Dīnār. *Manual of South Canara District*, Vol. II, p. 248 and *Tuhfat-al-Mujāhidīn*.

50. مدینۃ هیلی Dimishqī.

50. رُسْ هَيْلِی Abul Fidā.

R. The name of the Kingdom Ili or Eli has left a trace in Mount Delly, mentioned by several authors.

In Mādāyi or *Pazhayangadi* close to the travellers' bungalow on the west are the lines of an ancient fort, and further north in the midst of a desolate, rocky plain are traces of many walls and buildings and an old tank, still known as the Jews' tank. The fort may be on or near the site of the old Eli fort of the Kōlattiri family, built, according to the Kēralōl-

*Islands* : Idrīsī mentions the following islands.

- Balīq* : See under *Bullīn*.  
*Daybul* : See under *Kūlī*.  
*Malan* : See under *Sandān*.  
*Malī* : See under *Kawlam*.  
*Mand* : See under *Kūlī*.  
*Sandān* : See under *Sandān*.  
*Tāra* : See under *Sūbāra*.  
*Ūbkin* : See under *Ūtkīn*.

*Jurbatan*<sup>51</sup> :

Idrīsī and *Dimishqī* mention Jurbatan though their accounts of this place are different.

Idrīsī says that from *Fandarīna* (to Jurbatan<sup>52</sup> is five *marhalas*); from (Jurbatan to *Sanjā* and *Kaykār*)<sup>53</sup> two *days*.<sup>54</sup>

patti, by Eli Perumāl, the eighth of the line. East of the bungalow is the principal temple of the Chirakkal family. "The Jews' tank" points to an early colony of the Jews, probably in the palmy days of the kingdom of Eli.

See *Gazetteer of the Malabar and Anjengo Districts*, Vol. I, pp. 397-398; *Yule's Cathay and the way thither*, Vol. IV, pp. 74-75.

Compare Ibn Battūta : Hili is two days' journey from *Manjarūr*. "It is large and well-built, situated on a big inlet which is navigable for large vessels. This is the farthest town reached by ships from China."

Gibb's translation, p. 234.

51. جرباتن *Jirbatan* Idrīsī Bod. Lib. Ms. Poc. 375.

جرباتان *Jirbatan* Idrīsī Bod. Lib. Ms. Gr. 42.

جرباتان *Jirbatan* *Dimishqī*

حاتين *Haṭīn* Nuwayrī Part I p. 237.

52. "to Jirbatan five days". Elliot Vol. I. p. 90.

53. "Jirbatan to Sanji and Kaikasar," Elliot. Vol. I. p. 90.

صني و كيكار *Chini* و *Kikkar* Idrīsī Bod. Lib. MSS. Poc. 375.

صني و كيكار *Chini* و *Kikkar* Idrīsī Bod. Lib. MSS. Gr. 42.

54. مسيرة يوم *Misīra* يوم Idrīsī Bod. Lib. MSS. Gr. 42.

Jurbatan is a populous town on a small gulf.<sup>55</sup> It produces rice and grain in large quantities, and supplies provisions to the markets of Sarandib. There is much pepper cultivated on the mountains.

Dimishqī states that Jurfattan<sup>56</sup> is on the coast and its inhabitants are infidels.

*Kabashkān*<sup>57</sup>:

Ibn *Khurdādhbeh*: From Bābattan to Sinjilī and to Kabashkān, is one day's journey. Rice is produced here. It is a distance of three parasangs from these places to the mouth of the river Kūdāfarid.

55. "A little river". Elliot. Vol. I. p. 90.

56. MSS. of Dimishqī show variations in the reading of the name Jurfattan.

Ms. St. Pet. et L. have حربان

Ms. Cop. has حربان

Ms. in Paris has حربان

Dimishqī mentions it after Hili.

R. This is identified with *Srikandapuram*, ten miles due east of Tali-paramba. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's three parasangs from Hili also fits in, though Idrīsī has misplaced Jurfattan.

Yule identifies Jurfattan with Cannanore which does not seem to be correct. For, the description in *Tuhfat-al-Mujāhidīn* of a mosque built by Mālik ibn Dīnār Jurfattan is not appropriate, if Jurfattan is to be identified as Cannanore. In *Srikandapuram* the ancient mosque of Ibn Dīnār stands to this day. It is still a populous Mappilla village. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa mentions Hili, Jurfattan, Budfattan, Dahfattan, which were under the Raja Kuwayl (Kōlattiri).

The kingdom of the Kōlattiri Raja extended from Kasargod in the north to Korappula in the south. The eastern boundary was Kutakumala, and the western, the sea. The residence of the Raja was at Valarpattanam, the Budfattan of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa. See *Gazetteer of the Malabar and Anjengo Districts*, Vol. I, p. 398; Yule, *Cathay and the Way Thither*, Vol. IV, p. 76.

57. كسبان

R. See under Sinjili.

*Kamkam*<sup>58</sup>:

Seven writers, *Ibn Khurdādhbeh*, *Sulaymān*, *Ya'qūbī*, *Ibn Rusta*, *Mas'ūdī*, *Idrīsī* and *Dimishqī* mention Kamkam.

*Sulaymān* says that the land of the Balharā begins from the coast of the sea, comprising the country called Kamkam, and extends by land as far as China.<sup>59</sup>

*Ibn Khurdādhbeh* states that the Balharā resides in Kamkam, the land of teak.

*Ya'qūbī* states that the kingdom of Kamkam<sup>60</sup> is a vast country where teak is available.

*Ibn Rusta* follows *Ibn Khurdādhbeh* but has the additional remarks that teak is exported to other countries and that Kamkam is an Indian name.

*Mas'ūdī* mentions that the country of the Balharā is also called the country of Kamkar.<sup>61</sup>

58. كِمْكَمٌ *Ibn Khurdādhbeh*, *Sulaymān*, *Ya'qūbī* and *Ibn Rusta*.  
 كِمْكَرٌ *Mas'ūdī*.  
 مَكْمَكٌ وَكَنْوَنَاتٌ *Idrīsī*.  
 دِمِشْقَى *Dimishqī*.

59. وَمَلَكُ الْبَلْهَرَاءِ وَأَرْضُهُ اَوْلَهَا سَاحِلُ الْبَحْرِ وَهِيَ بَلَادٌ  
 تَدْعَى الْكِمْكَمُ مُتَحَلَّةً عَلَى الْأَرْضِ إِلَى الْعِينِ

*Sulaymān*, p. 28.

"The kingdom of the Balhara commences on the sea side, at the country of Komkam (Konkan), on the tongue of land which stretches to China." Elliot Vol. I, p. 4.

"L'empire du Ballahrā commence à la côte de la mer, là où est le pays de Konkan, sur la langue de terre qui se prolonge jusqu'en Chine."

Ferrand, *Relations de voyages, et Textes Géographiques*, Vol. 1, p. 42.

60. *Ya'qūbī* mentions Kamkam after the kingdom of the Balharā.

61. el-Kiminkar.      (الكمكم) - الكنونات، Sprenger *Mas'ūdī*, p. 389.

Idrīsī says that next to the Balharā is the Makamkam whose country produces teak.<sup>62</sup>

Dimishqī relates that the first country on the coast of Hind, after the city Barūṣ (Broach) is the country of Kank and Kanūnāt surrounded by mountains.<sup>63</sup>

Thus we find that Ibn Khurdādhbeh, Sulaymān and Mas'ūdī associate Kamkam with the Balharā or his kingdom. Ya'qūbī names it as a separate kingdom after that of the Balharā's. Idrīsī has a different name Makamkam and calls him a king next in rank to the Balharā. Ibn Khurdādhbeh, Ya'qūbī and Idrīsī also say that teak is produced in Kamkam. Thus these five writers, Ibn Khurdādhbeh, Sulaymān, Ya'qūbī, Mas'ūdī and Idrīsī, have two points in common, though stated in different ways. The reading of their accounts does not however warrant the idea that they are indebted to each other.

Ibn Rusta follows Ibn Khurdādhbeh but has two additional remarks, while Dimishqī has an independent account.

Perhaps the facts that Kamkam was a vast country, a kingdom, and that it produced teak were so well known in their time that these writers incorporated information in their accounts as it was reported to them; and this also would explain variations in the different readings of the name Kamkam.

#### 62. Bod. Lib. MSS.

The text conveys the idea that Makamkam is the name of a king next in rank to the Balharā.

#### 63.

نارل بادر الساحل الصندي بعد مد نهه بروص بلاد الكنك و الكنونات <sup>(e)</sup> سهق بعالي بال  
و من على شرق الكنك [و الكنك هو الشهادى تقدم ذكره و ذكر عباد نعم لـ] <sup>(f)</sup>

(e) St. Pet. L. et cop. omettent ce mot.

(f) Les trois msscrts. om.

See Text p. 172.

"Le premier pays sur la côte indienne après la ville de Berouc est Kanok (Canoge) et Kanounat, entourées de montagnes et situées sur la rive orientale du Gange. Nous avons déjà précédemment décrit le Gange et les diverses espèces de dévotion, dont il est l'objet sur ses bords." Mehren-Dimishqī, p. 233.

This shows confusion on the part of Dimishqī.

R. It is the Konkan area to which these writers are referring. See p. in this book,

*The Country of Karūrā*<sup>64</sup>:

Dimishqī says that the country of Karūrā adjoins the town Fātnī. It is the last country reached by merchants and Karūrā is the *qaṣba*. Wajrām-al-dhahab is the temple.<sup>65</sup>

*Kawlam*<sup>66</sup>:

Eight writers, *Ibn Khurdādhbeh*, *Sulaymān*, *Ibnul Faqīh*, *Idrīsī*, *Yāqūt*, *Qazwīnī*, *Dimishqī* and *Abul Fidā*, all speak about Kawlam. (Quilon).

64.

بِلَادُ كَرُورَةِ

65.

وَجْرَامُ الْمَهَابِ

For details, see Chapter II in this book.

R. In ancient Tamil records Vanji is mentioned as the capital of the Cēra kings and, according to the Tamil metrical dictionary, Tivākaram, Karur is Vanji. It has been identified with Tiruvanjikulam, lying adjacent to Cranganore, as the capital of the early rulers of Cēra or Kērala. Ptolemy, however, places Karūrā further inland, and an almost equally probable theory identifies the town with Tirukarūr, three miles from Kōthaimangalam and twenty-eight miles east by north of Cochin, where the remains of an old temple and other massive building are still visible. It is also identified with Karur in Trichinopoly District.

See R. Raghava Aiyangar *Vanjimanagar*.

*Indian Antiquary XXXI*, p. 343.

Caldwell, *Comparative Grammar of Dravidian Languages*, Introduction, pp. 96-97.

Kanakasabhai Pillai, *Tamils 1800 Years Ago*, p. 20.

V. R. R. Dikshitar, *Silappadikaram*, English translation, p. 44.

66.

مُنْدِي      *Ibn Khurdādhbeh*  
 كُوْكَمْ مَلِي      *Sulaymān*  
 كُوْلُوْ مَلِي      *Ibnul Faqīh*  
 كُوْكَمْ لَي - كُوْلَمْ مَلِي - جَزِيرَة مَلِي      *Idrīsī*  
 كُوْلَمْ      *Yāqūt* and *Qazwīnī*  
 مَدِينَة كُوْلَم - جَزِيرَة مَلِي      *Dimishqī*  
 كُوْلَمْ      *Abul Fidā*

Compare: كُوْلَمْ      *Ibn Battūta*.

Ibn Khurdādhbeh says that from Sandān to Mulay is five days' journey. Qanna and pepper are obtained here.<sup>67</sup>

Sulaymān mentions that ships from Masqat depart to the ports of Hind, sailing towards Kūkam Malī. This is a month's journey from Masqat, with a moderate wind. There is a garrison in Kūkam Malī. Chinese ships come here, and one thousand *dirhams* are collected from them. Other ships pay a sum ranging from one to ten *dīnārs*. There is sweet water available here from the wells. Between Kūkam Malī and the sea of Harkand is about a month's journey.<sup>68</sup> After taking in sweet water at Kūkam Malī, the ships sail towards the sea of Harkand, cross the sea and reach a place called Lakhyālūs.

Ibnul Faqih follows Sulaymān, giving almost all the details with a little variation. He says a sum ranging from ten to twenty *dīnārs* is collected from ships other than Chinese; the ships cross the sea of Harkand and come to a place called Kalahbār,<sup>69</sup> between which and Harkand there are islands peopled by a community known as Lanj. He seems to be more definite than Sulaymān when he says that the ships, after leaving Masqat, come straight to Kūlū Malī, the first port of Hind, the distance between the two is a month's journey. But his assertion that the garrison at Kūlū Malī belongs to the cities of Hind is vague.

67. "From Sindān to Mali (Malabar) is five days' journey; in the latter pepper is to be found, also the bamboo." Elliot. Vol. I, p. 15.

68. The text read وَبَيْنَ مَسْقَط وَبَيْنَ كُوكَمَانِ وَبَيْنَ عَرْكَانَدَ خَرْكَانَ شَفَرَ

The words لَهَانَ وَبَيْنَ seem to be a mistake. The distance between Masqat and Kūkam Malī has already been given. Now it should be about the distance between Kūkam Malī and Harkand. Compare: "The distance between Kūlū Malī and Harkand is a month's journey." Ibnul Faqih.

69. "From Likhya'lūs the ships set sail towards a place known as Kalahbār." Sulaymān, Silsilat-al-Tawārīkh, p. 18-19.

Idrīsī says that five miles by sea from Kūlam Mālī lies the island named Mālī, a large and beautiful spot, less hilly, and covered with much vegetation. The pepper plant grows in this island, as found nowhere else.

Yāqūt mentions that the island Kūlam is one of the innumerable islands in the sea of Hind.

He quotes Abū Dulaf who says: I went from Mandūrqīn to Kūlam. The inhabitants have a prayer house in which there is no idol.....<sup>70</sup> The pillars of the houses are from the backbones of dead fish, though the inhabitants do not eat fish. They do not slaughter animals after the manner of the Muslims. The inhabitants choose a king for China when their own king dies.<sup>71</sup> There is no art of medicine in India except in this town .... You embark

70. Details of products described here are omitted and will be found in the chapter on products.

71.

وَاهْلُهَا يَخْتَارُونَ مِنَ الْعِيْنِ مَلَكًا إِذَا مَاتَ مَلَكُهُمْ  
وَاهْلُهَا يَخْتَارُونَ مَلَكًا مِنَ الْعِيْنِ إِذَا مَاتَ مَلَكُهُمْ  
"When their king dies the people of the place choose another from China."  
Elliot, Vol. I, p. 95.

Yāqūt Vol. III, p. 455

Qazwīnī, Vol. II, p. 70

K. P. Padmanabha Menon, who quotes Elliot's translation in his "History of Kerala" (Vol. I, p. 277), expresses the view that the mention of a choice of a king from China to succeed the one deceased suggests the probability of there being a Chinese factory or settlement, at the time, in Quilon governed by one of their own chiefs who was succeeded on his death by another brought from China. If Yāqūt's version were to be correct, it may mean that the people of Quilon sent a person to China to represent their factory or settlement there.

That Chinese merchants used to come to Quilon is learnt from Ibn Baṭṭūṭa who says that Kawlam is the nearest of Mulaybar towns to China and it is to these that most of the merchants from China come.

from this town for 'Umān.... Water in Kūlam comes from tanks<sup>72</sup> which are made to collect rain water.

Different kinds of aloes, wood, camphor, resin and barks of trees are associated with Kūlam.

- Qazwīnī follows Yāqūt quoting the same source, yet there is some contradiction, since he says that Abū Dulaf Mis'ar ibn Muhal-hil who visited this place (Kūlam) did not see either a temple or an idol there.

Dimishqī mentions Kūlam as the last city of the country of pepper.... The island Malī is related to the city<sup>73</sup> on the coast. Pepper is there loaded in ships even though they all gather on the same day. Various kinds of perfumes are obtained here.

Abul Fidā quotes the longitude and latitude<sup>74</sup> from Ibn S'aīd and *Kitāb-al-Atwāl*. He assigns it to the first climate, and says that it is the last city of the pepper land of Manībār.

72.  P. Tank, cistern, the word 'tank' is to be understood in the Indian sense.

73. Evidently the city 'Kawlam' is meant.

74. Ibn Sa'id: longitude 132°, latitude 12°

Atwāl: Longitude 110°, latitude 13° 30'.

R. Kawlam is identified with Quilon.

Of these writers the statements of Dimishqī and Abul Fidā that Kūlam or Kawlam is the last city of the pepper land leaves us no doubt as to its identity with Quilon in Travancore. The information of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa that Kawlam is the nearest of the Mulaybār towns to China points to its position as present-day Quilon.

If Mandürqīn is Madura, as identified by the present writer, then the statement of Abū Dulaf quoted by Yāqūt and Qazwīnī that he went from Mandürqīn to Kūlam seems to fit in and Quilon may answer to that.

The distance of one month's journey between Masqat and Kūlam Malī given by Sulaymān and Ibnul Faqīh seems to be fairly correct, and the Kūkam Malī or Kūlū Malī of these two writers and their accounts may be taken to represent Quilon.

But the accounts of Ibn Khurdādhbeh and Idrīsī present some diffi-

Then he quotes Ibn Sa'īd who says that Kawlam is the last city of the pepper land in the east, from where they embark to Aden. He also reports from travellers thus: Kawlam is a city, the last one of the pepper land. It is situated in a gulf. There is a separate quarter for Muslims in this city where there is also a cathedral mosque. The city is situated on a plain, its earth is sandy. There are a large number of gardens here.

culty. According to Ibn Khurdādhbeh, from Sandān to Mulay takes five days, thence to Bullin two days, and Bābattan two days. As Bābattan appears to be Baliapatam, near Cannanore, from a study of other accounts, Ibn Khurdādhbeh's Mulay must lie before Bābattan. This seems to fit in with the five days' journey from Sandān to Mulay, if Sandān were to be St. John's Point of Rennal between Daman and Mahim as presumed by Yule. These considerations indicate that "Mulay" cannot refer to Kūlam. But before arriving at any conclusion let us see what Idrīsī, who generally follows Ibn Khurdādhbeh, has to say. He does not help us very much. He suddenly introduces Kūkam Malī, gives no account of it but proceeds to speak of the island Malī situated at a distance of five miles from Kūkam Malī. Thus the question arises: how did Idrīsī get the names of Kūkamlī or Kūkam Malī and the island Malī. Perhaps the manuscripts of Ibn Khurdādhbeh in the possession of Idrīsī had these names with conflicting accounts and Idrīsī might have arrived at his version finally as we find it in the present form. It may also be observed that copies of Ibn Khurdādhbeh's works always show variations which have been noticed at different places in the course of this work. Generally Elliot's version of Ibn Khurdādhbeh never agrees with de Goeje's version as regards place-names. Hence it may be concluded that Mulay of Ibn Khurdādhbeh may refer to Kūkam Malī or Kūlam Malī of other writers and the conflict in distances presented by Ibn Khurdādhbeh may be due to faults in the manuscript copies.

In this connection it may be said that Malī of Cosmas (6th century A.D.) is understood by K. P. Padmanabha Menon to refer to Kollam (Quilon).

For the meaning of the word 'Kollam' and a detailed account of the city refer to :

K. P. Padmanabha Menon, *History of Kerala*, Vol. I, pp. 271-292.

*Kaylkān, Lawā and Kanja*<sup>75</sup> :

*Ibn Khurdādhbeh* says from Kūdāfarīd to Kaylkān, Lawā and Kanja is two days' journey.<sup>76</sup> Corn and rice are produced here.

*Idrīsī* mentions that from Sanjā and Kaykār to Kalkayān takes one day. Thence to Lūluwā and Kanja another day.<sup>77</sup> In both these places rice and corn are cultivated : There are plenty of cocoanuts and (fruits).<sup>78</sup> From Kanja to Samandar<sup>79</sup> is thirty miles.

*The City Khurnal*<sup>80</sup>:

*Dimishqī* mentions the city Khurnal.

75. كيلكان - اللو - كنجة *Ibn Khurdādhbeh*.

طيلان - اللو - كنجة *Idrīsī*.

76. "From Kūra to Kilakān, Lūār and Kanja, is two days' journey, in all which wheat and rice are cultivated, and into which the wood of aloes is imported from Kāmūl and other neighbouring places, by the fresh-water route in fifteen days." Elliot—*Ibn Khurdādhbeh*, Vol. I, p. 16.

77. مسيرة بدمين *Graves, Ms. Bodl. Library.*

78. Elliot omits this word. Vol. I, p. 90.

79. Samandār. Elliot. Vol. I, p. 90.

R. It appears from the narratives of these two authors that both Kalkayān and Lūlū are inland towns between Kūdāfarīd, (Alimukam near Cranganore) and Conjeevaram (near Madras) on the east coast. The time given to cover the distance is two days, and according to another version of *Idrīsī*'s Ms. three days, which seems to be rather insufficient.

It is not possible to identify the places, Kaylkān and Lawā. Kanja is old Kānchipuram (Conjeevaram), the capital of the Cōla kings.

80. مدينة خورنل *Text p. 173.*

All the three mss. omit the name and description of this city. See Text note a, p. 173.

A. G.—7.

Khurnal is a port for the ships of Hind as well as for those who pass by.

*Kubrā wa Kabīr in Big Ma'bar*<sup>81</sup>:

*Dimishqī* says that after the small Ma'bar comes the Big Ma'bar. Of the many cities in it, Kubrā wa Kabīr is a beautiful city; its inhabitants are mixed.<sup>82</sup>

"La Ville de Khournoul, lieu d'étape pour les navires indiens." Mehren—*Dimishqī*, p. 233.

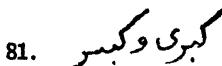
*Dimishqī* mentions Khurnal after Fūfal.

R. Khurnal may be identified with *Kumbla* in Kasargod taluk, Malabar District.

*Kumbla* is a small port, nineteen miles south of Mangalore, and nine miles from Kasargod, north-north-west. The town stands on a bold peninsula in a lagoon, separated from the sea by a sand-spout and communicating with it by a narrow channel, on which the village of Kannipuram is situated. It was once a considerable town, but is now decayed. The Raja of *Kumbla*, whose ancestors ruled the southern part of Tuluva and who is now a government pensioner, resides a small distance away.

In 1514, Duarte Barbosa visited the port and recorded that he found the people exporting a very bad brown rice to the Maldives in exchange for coir. Early in the sixteenth century the port paid a tribute of 800 loads of rice to the Portuguese.

*Manual of South Canara District*, Vol. II, p. 248-9.

81. 

82. "Suit le grand Mabar avec les villes de Koubra (Kat'ir?) Kaibar, belle ville avec une population mixte." Mehren—*Dimishqī*, p. 235.

R. This may be identified with *Gangaikondapuram* (Trichinopoly District). It is six miles east of Jayankonda Cōlapuram. It was for over a hundred years the capital of the Cōla kingdom, having been preferred to Tanjore by Rajēndra Cōla (1011-44). Its proper name is Gangai-Konda-Cōlapuram or the city of the Cōla who conquered the Ganges. The title Gangai-

*Kūdāfarīd*<sup>83:</sup>

*Ibn Khurdādhbeh* says that from *Sinjili* and *Kabashkān* to the mouth of *Kūdāfarīd* is three parasangs, and that from *Kūdāfarīd* to *Kaylkān*, *Lawā* and *Kanja* requires two days' journey.

konda-Côla was assumed by King Rajêndra Côla to commemorate his northern conquests.

The place is frequently referred to in inscriptions, being called sometimes "Gangapur" and "Gangakunda."

*Gazetteer of the Trichinopoly District, Vol. I, p. 347.*

83. Text p. 63 . **کوہا فرید** F. Note (k) A. **کوہا فرید**

B. نے ایک کو East Godavari. Schirâzî, at - Tohsat as Schâhîja.

Cod. Leid. 192 Cap. III Inter صبر et میکا memorat دریا quo idem fluvius significari videtur.

"De là (de l'embouchure de la Godavari) à Kaylakān" Ferrand. *Relations de voyages*. Vol. I p. 24.

"From 'Askān to Kūra three and a half parasangs, where several rivers discharge." Elliot. Vol. I. p. 16.

R. Kūdāfarīd is identified with *Alimukam*.

According to Ibn Khurdādhab, the mouth of Kūdāfarid is three parasangs from Sinjili and Kabashkān, (Cranganore) and from Kūdāfarid to Kaylkān, Lawā and Kanja two days' journey. But Idrīsī does not mention Kūdāfarid and says Kaylkān is reached after a day from Sanjā and Kayalkār (Cranganore) and thence to Lūlū and Kanja.

Ibn Khurdādhbēh says, the mouth of Kūdāfarīd is three parasangs from Sinjili. The word 'mouth' is very significant. From the earliest times Muchiri which, according to Tamil poets, was situated near the mouth of the Periyar was frequented by Yavana merchants. Pseudostomos signifies in Greek "false mouth" and is a correct translation of the Tamil or Malayālam expression "Alimukam" by which the mouth of the Periyar, south of Kodungallur, is known even now. It was so called because during the monsoon the river

*Kūlī*<sup>84</sup> :

*Ibn Khurdādhbeh* and *Idrīsī* both mention *Kūlī*.

*Ibn Khurdādhbeh* says that from Ūtkīn to Mayd is two parasangs. The inhabitants are brigands; thence to *Kūlī* is two parasangs,<sup>85</sup> thence to *Sandān* eighteen parasangs.

*Idrīsī* reaches *Kūlī* by a different route. From Ūbkin to the island *Daybul*<sup>86</sup> is two days. It is the beginning of the land of Hind. (In the plains rice is cultivated and up the hills Indian qanna is grown. The inhabitants worship idols.)<sup>87</sup> Thence to the island *Mand*, six miles<sup>88</sup>. The inhabitants are brigands. From *Mand* to *Kūlī* six miles and thence to the town *Sūbāra* five *marhalas*.

frequently made a new opening for itself in the low sand-banks, which obstructed its entrance to the sea. Hence the "mouth of *Kūdāfarīd*" may be identified with *Alīmukam*, and it seems to have no connection with the *Godavari* river, as supposed by some modern scholars.

Thus we understand from *Ibn Khurdādhbeh* that the sea route ends with *Kūdāfarīd* (*Alīmukam*) and then the land route takes us to *Conjeevaram* on the east coast. Only two stations *Kaylkān* and *Lawā* are mentioned in the middle and the time given as two days appears to be insufficient to cover the distance from *Alīmukam* near *Cranganore* to *Conjeevaram*.

84. *كُولي* *Ibn Khurdādhbeh* and *Idrīsī*.

*جُولِي* *Idrīsī* Poc. 375.

85. "From the Meds to *Kol* are two parasangs", *Elliot*. Vol. I, p. 15.

86. *جَزِيرَةِ الْمَيْلِ*

87. This account is given by *Elliot* under *Kanbāya*. See Vol. I, pp. 85. It is a mistake in the reading of the text by *Elliot*.

88. "From *Kanbāya* to the island of *Mand*" *Elliot*, Vol. I, p. 85. *Elliot* has misread the text. Instead of *Daybul*, *Elliot* has read *Kanbāya*.

R. According to *Ibn Khurdādhbeh* *Kūlī* is reached within a distance of four parasangs from Ūtkīn, while *Idrīsī* goes to it from Ūbkin after travelling two days and twelve miles through the islands *Daybul* and *Mand*. These

*Lārawī Coast*<sup>89</sup> :

*Mas'ūdī* gives information about the cities on the coast of the Lārawī sea.

From the promontory of *Al-jamjama*, the vessels enter from the sea of Fars into the second sea which has the name Lārawī. On this sea are Saymūr, Sūbāra, Tābah, Sandān, Kanbāya and other places of Hind and Sind.<sup>90</sup>

*Dimishqī* says that the coasts of the country of Lār are a continuation of the coasts of Jazrāt, and it comprises the kingdom of Somnat.

*Ma'bar*<sup>91</sup> :

Yāqūt says that Ma'bar is the extremity of the land of Hind, then come the cities of China, the first of these is Java.

*Dimishqī* mentions that after Kawlam comes the country of Sūliyān (Cōlas) which includes two Ma'bars, big and small. Both are on the coast, and goods are carried thither from western cities.

accounts seem to be conflicting with each other, yet they make it sufficiently clear that Kūli, Ūbkīn or Ūtkīn, Mand and Daybul all lay in the Gulf of Cambay, some on the side of the coast of Guzarat and some on that of the western coast of South India.

89. سری رودی. Barbier—*Mas'ūdī*, Vol. I, p. 330

Sea of Ladiwa (of the Laccadives) سری رودی (سری رودی). Sprenger—*Mas'ūdī*, p. 346.

سراحل بلدرالله Dimishqī, Text p. 173.

90. "Ṣafūra, Sūbārah, Tānah, Sindābūr and Kanbāyat", Sprenger—*Mas'ūdī*, p. 346.

R. The Lata country, according to Fleet, was the name given to Surat and Baroda. Fleet, *Bombay Gazetteer*, Part I, Vol. II, p. 283.

91. معتبر 'The Ferry or crossing place.' For details see *Hobson Jobson*, p. 526.

The small Ma'bar,<sup>92</sup> the port which gives access to the cities<sup>93</sup> Kankār, Mankala and al-Laybūr, is the capital of the kingdom and has a small temple.<sup>94</sup>

92. Dimishqī is the only writer who divides Ma'bar into two as big and small Ma'bars. Perhaps he does so to avoid confusion between the place or the port that communicated with Ceylon and the Ma'bar proper. It does not seem to be easy to identify the place represented by the small Ma'bar. But his statement that it is the capital of the kingdom, read with Abul Fidā's account of Biyyar Dāwal may warrant the conclusion that small Ma'bar and Biyyar Dāwal may be one and the same place. What is Biyyar Dāwal ?

Amīr Khusro gives a very detailed account of the Muslim campaigns in Ma'bar A.H. 710 (1310) with various place-names. He mentions a place Bir Dhul. Dr. S. K. Ayyangar in his *South India and Muhammadan invaders*, seems to think that it refers to the head-quarters of Bir (Vira) and is used synonymously as referring to the country of Bir. The suggestion is offered that it stands for Vira Cōlan which at the time might have been an alternative designation of the head-quarters of the Cōla country under the Pāndya ruler, which must have been either Gangaikondacōlapuram or Jayangondacōlapuram. In the course of the discussion, the learned Doctor refers to Abul Fidā's Biyyar-Dāwal and says that the first part stands for the same as Amīr Khusro's Bir (Vira Pāndya), the latter half 'Dāwal' indicates a part of the word 'Dawlat' which might mean wealth or possessions of which Dhul of Amīr Khusro may be a modification. Thus he comes to the conclusion that in either case it could mean only the country which went to make up the fortune of the Pāndya King.

With due deference to so great an authority as Dr S. K. Ayyangar, I should however state that I am not aware of any rule of Persian grammar by which the words Bir and Dawlat can combine and form Bir-Dawlat. It may form Dawlat-i-Bir, not *vice versa*. Further it is obvious that Amīr Khusro could not have confused Dawlat with Dhul.

Thus it appears to me that Dhul and Dāwal are corruptions of some Tamil word, probably (தாவளம்) Tāwalam meaning towns, villages, etc., in agricultural districts (மருதாலைத்தூர்) commonly, a lodging place. Thus Biyyar-Dāwal, or Bir Dhul, a proper Tamil construction, might mean a town of Bir (Vira Pāndya).

It is natural to expect that in the dispute to succession between Kula-sēkhara's two sons Vira Pāndya and Sundara Pāndya another city to rival Madura, the traditional capital of the Pāndyas, might have risen; possibly

After the small Ma'bar comes the Big Ma'bar. On this are the following cities : Kubrā wa Kabir, Qayrah, Qayn, Abātū, Daqtan, and Tandā whose qaṣba is Fātnī.

Abul Fidā says that Ma'bar is the third *iqlīm* of Hind. It begins at about three or four days' journey to the east of Kawlam. Thus it is situated to the east of Manibār. The first locality in Ma'bar from the side of Manibār is Rās Kumhūri. Manifattan is in Ma'bar. Biyyar Dāwal is the *qaṣba* of Ma'bar.

In the tables of the cities of Hind Abul Fidā gives the longitude  $142^{\circ}$  and latitude  $17^{\circ}25'$  from Ibn Sa'id, and adds further information that Ma'bar is in the third climate at the extremity of Hind.

It has been said above that Ma'bar is the name of an *iqlīm*; it is therefore possible that the situation indicated here refers to its capital Biyyar Dāwal mentioned before.

Ma'bar, says Ibn Sa'id, is celebrated in the mouths of travellers. It is from there that a kind of material, known as *lānas*<sup>95</sup>, is

Vīra Pāṇḍya might have resided there. From the way Abul Fidā speaks, it must be sought for after Quilon, before Tonḍi on the east coast. The suggestion by Dr. S. K. Ayyangar of Jayangonḍacōlapuram seems to be far away.

93. Kankār, Mankala and al-Laybūr are, without doubt, cities in Ceylon. Ibn Battūta also refers to Kunakār in his trip to Ceylon and this is identified with Kurunēgala, the residence of the old dynasty of the Sinhalese kings. The other two cities, Mankala and al-Laybūr might lie round about Kurunēgala.

94. Compare the translation of Mehren on pp. 234-5. "Le petit Mabar est le port de la ville de Kankār, Mangalah Allibnoum (Allipour?) residence royale, avec un Boudd, qui n'est guere frequente."

95. *لِنْجُون*

Only Dozy gives *لِنْجُون* as Muslin (Vol. II, 551). There is a word in Tamil (லெஞ்சி) Lēnci, (இலெஞ்சி) ilēnci kerchief, scarf, a coloured one, usually red. The colour is very fast. The Tamil dictionaries refer that word to the Portugese "Lenco" which is further traced to the Latin *Linteum*—a linen cloth, and the Greek *Linon*—anything made of flax. Thus the word

exported and the art of washing and dyeing in that place is proverbial.<sup>96</sup>

At the north extends the mountain adjoining the country of the Balharā who is one of the kings of Hind ; at the west the river of Sūliyān throws itself into the sea.

Ma'bar is three or four days' journey to the east of Kawlam ; it must be with a little bend towards the south.

*Malibār*<sup>97</sup> :

Six writers, *Sulaymān*, *Yāqūt*, *Dimishqī*, *Abul Fidā*, *Idrīsī* and *Qazwīnī* mention *Malibār*.

*lānas* can only mean cotton fabric and it will not be correct to translate it as muslin.

*Lenci* (ලේන්සි) means a kind of coloured cloth, silk or cotton usually red. Even today the Muslims on the east coast, in the country parts wear a *lungi*, a coloured cloth around the waist and a big or small *lenci* as upper cloth. Since the colour of the *lenci* is fast we could follow the thought of *Abul Fidā* when he immediately refers to the dyeing in Ma'bar.

See the following note :

96. The Arabic word قصارة means the art of beating, washing and whitening clothes. In modern terminology, it may be understood as washing and dyeing.

Otto Spies has translated the word قصارة as "washermen." Perhaps he read the word as قصارة, pl. of القصارة. It should be read as حرفة النصار, النصار.

See Otto Spies, *An Arab Account of India in the 14th Century*, p. 38.

Compare the translation of this passage by M. Stanislas Guyard, Tome II, p. 121. "C'est de la qu'on exporte une mousseline qui a passé en proverbe pour sa finesse."

97. بلاد الغسل Yāqūt.

بلاد الغسل Sulaymān, Dimishqī, Abul Fidā.

منبار Idrīsī, Dimishqī, Abul Fidā.

مليبار Yāqūt, Qazwīnī.

Sulaymān says that the people of Tilwa, in the country of pepper, attain mastery over others.

Idrīsī states that Fandarīna is a town built at the mouth of a river which comes from Manibār.

• Yāqūt mentions that leaving Barwaş and after a sharper bend you come to the country of Malibār, from where pepper is exported. Its famous cities are: Fāknūr and Manjarūr.<sup>98</sup> Malibār is a big country with a number of cities. Of these are the following: Fāknūr, Manjarūr and Dahsal. Malibār is in the middle of the country of Hind, its province adjoining the provinces of Multan. Pepper is exported from here to all the countries of the world.<sup>99</sup>

Yāqūt quotes Abū Dulaf as saying: I went from Kalah to the country of pepper where I saw the pepper plant.

Qazwīnī gives the substance<sup>100</sup> of the details mentioned by Yāqūt but has the additional remark that many people are benefitted by pepper trade and the Franks carry pepper in the sea of Syria to the farthest west.<sup>101</sup>

Dimishqī says that the city of Manibār adjoins Hunnūr; it is also named as the country of pepper, where there are many cities.<sup>102</sup>

98. Yāqūt, Vol. I, p. 506.

99. Yāqūt, Vol. IV, p. 639.

100. "Malibār is a vast country in Hind. It has many towns. There are pepper plantations in this country; pepper is exported from one end of the east to the other end of the west." Qazwīnī-Kitāb-al-āthar-al-bilad, p. 82.

101. This account shows that pepper was the chief merchandise that formed the basis of the trade relationship between the Franks and the Arabs during Qazwīnī's period, (1203-1283 A.D.).

102. Fāknūr, Saymūr, Manjarūr, Harqilya, Hili, Jurfattān, Dahfattān, Budfattān, Fandarīna, Shinklī, Kūlam.

Abul Fidā says that Manībār, one of the countries of Hind to the east of Jazrāt, is the pepper country. Some travellers say that the country which extends from Sindābūr to Hannūr towards the east comes under Manībār. The whole of Manībār is full of verdure, intertwined with trees on account of excessive water. It is said that the extremity of Manībār is Tandiyūr. Kūlam is the last city of Manībār.<sup>103</sup>

103. Cf. Ibn Battūta: "Mulaybār is the pepper country ; it extends for two months' journey along the coast from Sandabūr (Goa) to Kawlam (Quilon in Travancore)."

Gibb's translation, p. 231.

R. Malabar is referred to by all the Arab writers as the country of pepper and no mention is made of the cocoanuts, one of the chief products of Malabar. Their silence on this point is very significant and it lends support to the theory of a section of scholars in Southern India who hold that cocoanut plantation was introduced into Malabar, at a later period, from Ceylon.

*Malabar*: There are two parts in the word: *Mala* and *Bār*. The first is doubtless indigenous, and the second is probably the Persian *bār*.

As regards the substantiative part of the name *mala*, it is said that it is a Dravidian term *malai*, mountain in the Sanskrit form *malaya* which is applied specifically to the southern portion of the Western Ghats. But the Arabs do not seem to have known the word *malai*, meaning mountain. They knew an island or place named *Malī* (Mulay), (see under Kawlam), which they sometimes combined with Kūlam or Kūkam, as Kūlam Malī or Kūkam Malī. A close study of their knowledge of India shows that in the earliest times the Arabs knew only one port on the west coast of India, and that is Quilon which they associated with Malī, and which they always touched on their way to and from China.

Sulaymān first calls it Kūkam Malī and Ibn Rusta has Kūlū Malī. Ibn Khurdādhbeh refers only to Mulay. This doubtless refers to Kūkam Malī of the other writers, though there is some confusion in his account of distances and places reached before and after Mulay. After all Ibn Khurdādhbeh was not a traveller and, as Director of Posts and Police, he engaged himself in compiling a book of trade routes for which he secured information from various sources, some of which might have misled him. This Kūlūmali was an important station for them in their trade route to China and they were very familiar with it. As their knowledge of coastal cities of India

Thus we see that each of these writers seems to give a fairly independent account, although there are some points of resemblance between Yāqūt and Qazwīnī.

*Mandarī*<sup>104</sup>:

*Mas'ūdī*, Yāqūt, Qazwīnī and *Abul Fidā* mention *Mandarī*.

*Mas'ūdī* says that *Mandūrfīn* is opposite to the island of *Saran-dīb* as *Qumār* is opposite to the islands of the *Maharāj*. He also says that he has given an account of the king of *Mandūrfīn*<sup>105</sup> in his *Akhbār-al-zamān* and *Kitāb-al-awsat*.

increased gradually, they might have, for purposes of convenience, called that portion of the sea-board country as *Malībār*, the land of *Mali*, which term they also used synonymously with *Pepper-land* as pepper was the chief article of their trade. From *Idrīsī* we hear for the first time *Manībār*, which means the land of pepper. As we should expect we must hear of *Malībār* not *Manībār*. How did *Idrīsī* get this word *Manī*. As usual, *Idrīsī* seems to have been careless in critically examining the materials. It is, perhaps a mistake for *Mali* wrongly pronounced to him by his reporters. This seems to be so, for the succeeding writers except *Abul Fidā* and *Dimishqī* have discarded it, and have the form *Malībār* as it should be.

Then the Portuguese, who succeeded to the Arabs' trade in the East, took up this form *Malībār* and gave currency to it. Later on other European nations also kept up their expression. Thus it appears that *Malībār* has nothing to do with *Malainādū*, *Malaiyālam*, *Malaivāram*, which are introduced by modern scholars to explain the etymology of Malabar.

See Hobson-Jobson, p. 541.

104. مندورفین Mas'ūdī—Barbier, p. 394, Vol. I.

مندورقین Yāqūt.

مندورفین Qazwīnī.

مندری Abul Fidā.

Barbier—*Mas'ūdī*, Vol. I, note on p. 403. Le Manuscrit L. porte

مندور بن بی . منصوری

Sprenger—*Mas'ūdī*, p. 397 (مندوری مندور بن قی )

105. See under King 'Ariṭī, Qāydi.

Yāqūt quotes Abū Dulaf as saying that he went from Jājullah to Kashmir, thence to Kabul and returning along the Indian coast, reached the town Mandūrqīn, where forests of qanna and sandal-wood grow. Ṭabāshīr is exported from here, and the water ~~at~~ Mandūrqīn comes from tanks<sup>106</sup> made to contain water.

Qazwīnī says that Mandūrfīn is a city of Hind, and quotes the same authority, Abū Dulaf Mis'ar ibn Muhalhil, but restricts himself only to the mention of qanna forests and exportation of ṭabāshīr.

Abul Fidā reports that it is said in *Qānūn* that Mandarī is one of the cities of Hind, situated between the port and the part of the coast of Ma'bar towards Sarandīb in the valley. The longitude is 120°, and the latitude is 15°.

*Manifattan*<sup>107</sup> :

Abul Fidā mentions Manifattan, and says that it is a place on the coast, in Ma'bar.

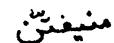
106.  P. Tank or cistern.

R. This is identified with *Madura*, the capital of the Pāndya kings.

Mas'ūdī, a traveller to Ceylon and to India, clearly says that Mandarī is opposite to the island Sarandīb; Abul Fidā, a diligent enquirer and an able tabulator of facts, also gives the same impression as to its location. Thus it is clear that Mandarī must be sought for on the coast of Ma'bar. From Yāqūt and Qazwīnī we get certain details which speak of qanna and sandalwood. That the area of Madura abounded once with qanna and sandal-wood forests, is too well known.

These facts point to the conclusion that the authors who give the name in different forms refer to one and the same place.

The forms 'Mandūrqīn' and 'Mandūrfīn' given by Arab writers, suggest the original name Maduraippattinam (மதுரைப்பட்டினம்). The suffix pattinam (பட்டினம்) which corresponds to the قین of the Arab writers dropped out in course of time.

107. 

R. This may identified with *Negapatam*. (Ptolemy's Nigamos and Rāshid-al-Dīn's Malifattan). It is an important seaport. About the com-

*Manjarūr*<sup>108</sup> :

*Dimishqī* and *Abul Fidā* give information about *Manjarūr*.

*Dimishqī* states that the city of *Manjarūr*<sup>109</sup> is situated on a river known by the same name, and which empties into the sea where there is ebb and low tide. There is a large quantity of pepper available here.

*Abul Fidā* says that *Manjarūr* is situated to the east of *Sindābūr*, *Hannūr* and *Bāsrūr*. It is said that *Manjarūr* is the biggest town in *Manībār* (Malabar). Its king is an infidel.

*Dimishqī* and *Abul Fidā* appear to have independent information of the place *Manjarūr*.

mencement of the Christian era, it appears to have been a chief city of the little known *Naga* people from whom its name, *Nāga-pattanam*, was no doubt derived.

It became one of the earliest settlements of the Portuguese on the east coast of India and was called by them the city of Choramandal.

Some interesting relics of the Dutch occupation of the town survive.

*Tanjore District Gazetteer*, Vol. I, pp. 243-8.

108.  *Dimishqī*, *Abul Fidā*.

For various readings of the name from non-Arab Geographers, see Yule, *Cathay and the Way Thither*, Vol. IV, pp. 73-4.

109. *Dimishqī* has the following account of *Manjarūrsah* on page 170:

“*Manjarūrsah*, one of the cities of *Jazrāt*, is surrounded by about 1,500 villages and about 70 fortresses situated in the mountains of the *Bal-harā*, which are in continuation of the gates of China as far as the country *Jazrāt*.”

*Dimishqī* is completely confused in his account.

R. *Manjarūr* is *Mangalore*, see *Manual of South Canara District*, Vol. II, p. 254.

*Mānkīr*<sup>110</sup>:

*Mas'ūdī* tells us that the city of *Mānkīr* became the capital of the kingdom of the *Balharā* after the death of *Kōrush*,<sup>111</sup> when his kingdom broke up into divers nations and tribes each having a chief of its own. *Mānkīr* was the great metropolis, situated eighty Sindhi parasangs<sup>112</sup> from the sea. Its king was the first

110. مانکیر *Abul Faraj*, and *Istakhri*.

مانکیر - - مانکیر *Barbier—Mas'ūdī*, p. 177.

111. Brahman was the first king of the Hindus. During his reign the book *As-sind-Hind* was written. Upon this book other works are founded as the *Azjahīr*, كتاب الازجعيه and *Majasti* كتاب الماجستي . From *Azjahīr* the book *Arkand* derives its origin, and from *Majasti* the book of *Ptolemy* كتاب بطليموس . *Al-Brahman* ruled for 366 years. He was succeeded by his son *Al-Bahbūd* البهبد who reigned for 150 years. In his reign the game of tables or backgammon الفرد was invented. After *Al-Bahbūd* reigned *Ramāh* رامه or *Rāman* رامان or *Shāh* شاه about 150 years. He had several wars with kings of Persia and China. After him *Porus* پوروس came to the throne. Alexander gave him a battle and killed him in a single combat after a reign of 150 years. Then succeeded *Daislam* دیسلم, who is the author of *Kalila wa Dimna*. Then succeeded *Balhīt* بالهیت . In his reign the game of chess شطرنج was invented. He was succeeded by *Koresh*, كورش . After his death the Hindus disagreed in point of religion. They divided themselves into parties and formed distinct states, and every chief made himself independent in his district. Sind was ruled by its own king, another ruled over *Kanauj*, and another resided in the city of *Mānkīr*, the great metropolis. He was the first who had the name of *Balharā*. *Sprenger—Mas'ūdī*, pp. 153-176.

112. 1 parasang=eight miles. *Barbier—Mas'ūdī*, p. 178.

who had the name 'Balharā' which became subsequently the title of every sovereign of that great capital down to our time which is the year 332 A.H. The inhabitants of Mānkīr, the residence of the Balharā, spoke the Kiriyya language.<sup>113</sup>

\* *Abul Faraj* says, as does *Mas'ūdī*, that Mānkīr is the city where the Balharā lives, but has additional information. Mānkīr is forty parasangs in length. The buildings are of teak, and qanna, and divers kinds of wood. It is said that the people of the city own a million elephants for transport business. The king owns sixty thousand elephants. The laundrymen have one hundred and twenty thousand elephants. The biggest temple is the one at Mānkīr, which is one parasang in length.

There are, in that temple, about twenty thousand idols which are set with different kinds of precious metals like gold, silver, iron, copper, brass, ivory and different kinds of stones made artificially. These idols are adorned with brilliant gems. Every year the king of Mānkīr rides to the temple, nay, he goes by foot and returns to his residence riding on horseback. In that temple there is an idol of gold, twelve cubits in height, set on a pedestal of gold at the centre of a cupola made of gold. The whole of it is set with solid white pearls (not perforated) and precious stones, red, yellow, blue and green. They sacrifice victims for this idol. On a certain day appointed in the year, they offer human beings as sacrifice.

*İstakhrī* says that the city of Mānkīr where the Balharā resides has an extensive territory.

All these writers have independent information of the place ; the only point common to them is about the residence of the Balharā in Mānkīr.

113. See page 95 in this book.

R. For the identification of Mānkīr, see under the Balharā.

*A High Mountain North of Fandarīna:*

*Idrīsī* mentions that there is a very high mountain north of Fandarīna, covered with trees, villages and flocks.

*Mountain Kāward*<sup>114</sup>:

*Dimishqī* says that in the *qaṣba* of Fātnī is a mountain named Kāward with a big volcano, which emits fire night and day.

*Qayn*<sup>115</sup>:

*Dimishqī* mentions Qayn as one of the big cities of Big Ma'bar.

R. The mountain north of Fandarīna is identified with Mount Delly. See under Hīlī for more particulars.

114. *جَهَنَّمُ الْمَسْكُونُ*

R. It is rather difficult to understand *Dimishqī* here. Evidently he is confusing his account of some other place with Fātnī. In Kanaka Sabhai's *Tamils 1800 years ago*, we get a reference to a mountain. On p. 40 he says that the Nāga king who ruled at Kalyāni gave his niece to another Nāga king of the Kānawaddamano mountain, more correctly Kandamādanam, a hill near the modern Ramesvaram on the Indian coast, opposite to Kalyāni. There is no reference to any volcano. At the present day we do not see any trace of rocky area near Ramesvaram. But there are big sand dunes near that place which are said to be covering what were once hilly tracts.

115. *قَيْنٌ*

R. *Dimishqī* mentions it after Qayrah. This may be identified with Kānapper, the modern name of this place is Kāliyārkōvil. It figures with the former name both in the classical Tamil literature and in the campaigns of the Ceylonese general. In the old days the place seems to have been surrounded by dense forests and might have belonged to the division which was called Kāna Nādu (forest-country) including within it a considerable part of what is now Ramnad district and the southern portion of Pudukkottai. The chetty townlet of Kānādukāttān seems to be a place where a frontier guard was located.

See Dr. S. K. Ayyangar, *South India and her Muhammadan Invaders*, p. 197.

*Qayrah*<sup>116</sup> :

*Dimishqī* mentions *Qayrah* as one of the big cities of Big Ma'bar.

*Qumār* :

• See under Kingdom of *Qumār*.

*Rāskumhūrī*<sup>117</sup>:

*Abul Fidā* mentions that *Rāskumhūrī* is the first place in Ma'bar on the side of Manibār. There is a mountain there. Both the mountain and the locality are known as *Rāskumhūrī*.

*Sāhī*<sup>118</sup> :

*Dimishqī* mentions *Sāhī* before *Tāna* and after *Sūbāra*.

*Sandān*<sup>119</sup>:

*Sandān* is mentioned by seven writers:—*Ibn Khurdādhbeh*, *Mas'ūdī*, *Istakhri*, *Ibn Hawqal*, *Maqdisī*, *Idrisī* and *Abul Fidā*.

116. قيرہ MSS. St. Pet. L. et cop., omit this—*Dimishqī* Text p. 173.

R. As *Dimishqī* mentions *Qayrah* immediately after *Kubrā wa Kabir* (*Gangaikondapuram*), *Qayrah* may be sought for near there, and perhaps *Kāverippattanam*, once one of the chief cities of the *Cōla* kingdom, may answer to that.

*Kāverippattanam* is a little hamlet now at the mouth of the *Cauvery* in the south-east corner of the *Shiyāli* taluk, *Tanjore* District. It is the same as the *Kamara* of the *Periplus* and the *Khaberis* of *Ptolemy*.

*Tanjore District Gazetteer*, Vol. I, pp. 256-7.

117. سکندری

R. This is identified with Cape Comorin.

118. سی

It is omitted by MSS. St. Pet. et L. *Dimishqī* Text p. 173.

R. This place is not to be identified.

119. سندان

*Ibn Khurdādhbeh*, *Mas'ūdī*.

*Istakhri*, *Ibn Hawqal*, *Maqdisī*.

*Sandān*, *Idrisī*, *Abul Fidā* and *Nuwayrī*, part I, pp. 210, 237.

Ibn Khurdādhbeh, mentions Sandān and says that from Kūlī<sup>120</sup> to Sandān is eighteen parasangs ; teak and qanna are obtained here. Sandān to Mulay<sup>121</sup> is five days' journey.

Mas'ūdī says that Sandān<sup>122</sup> is a neighbouring town of Kanbāya, where Kanbāyan Sandals are made.

Iṣṭakhrī<sup>123</sup> followed by Ibn Ḥawqal and Maqdisī states that Sandān is one of the cities of Hind. There are cathedral mosques in Qāmuḥul, Sandān, Saymūr, and Kanbāya where Muslim precepts are openly observed. These cities are fertile and big; they produce cocoanuts, bananas and mangoes ; cultivation of paddy is very popular ; a great quantity of honey is obtained here ; they do not have date trees.

Iṣṭakhrī and Ibn Ḥawqal alone give the distance between Sūbāra and Sandān as about five *marhalas*.

120. كول de Goeje—footnote on p. 62.

'Kol'—Elliot. Vol. I, p. 15.

121. Mālī (Malabar). Elliot, Vol. I, p. 15.

122. Sindābūr, a place on the coast of the Ladawi Sea. Sprenger—*Mas'ūdī*, p. 346.

123. The texts of *Iṣṭakhrī*, Ibn Ḥawqal and Maqdisī show slight variations in details.

"Between Sūrabāya and Sindān about five days," Elliot—*Iṣṭakhrī*, Vol. I, p. 30.

"There are, in these cities, cocoanut trees out of which toddy is tapped." de Goeje—Ibn Ḥawqal, p. 231.

".....Sandan : Mangoes, cocoanuts and lemons" Elliot—Ibn Ḥawqal, Vol. I, p. 38.

Maqdisī omits details about cathedral mosques and has the following account instead. "Sandān, Saymūr and Kanbāya are fertile ; prices are cheap ; they are centres for rice and honey." de Goeje—*Maqdisī*, p. 484.

"From Sandān large quantities of rice and fabrics (Footnote (r) c. addit. مَحَالَةُ الْبَصَرِيَّةِ) are obtained ; carpets are manufactured ; a great quantity of cocoanuts and a good quality of fabrics are exported from here." de Goeje—*Maqdisī*, p. 481.

Idrīsī : From Sūbāra to Sandān is about five *marhalas*. It is in the second climate ; the city is populous and the people are noted for their skill and intelligence. They are wealthy merchants and great travellers. The town is large and many come and go. East of Sandān there is an island which bears the same name and is associated with it. It is large, well-cultivated and date trees, cocoanut palms, qanna and bamboo<sup>124</sup> grow there. Sandān is two days' journey from the island of Malaq<sup>125</sup> situated opposite to Barūj and produces pepper in large quantities ; from Sandān to the island Balīq is also two days.

Abul Fidā quotes from 'Azīzī that between the city of Sandān and Manṣūra is fifteen parasangs<sup>126</sup> and he gives other details<sup>127</sup> from the same source which seem to be a summary of Idrīsī's account of Sandān and the island of Sandān. Abul Fidā also quotes from Qānūn that Sandān is a city on the coast and gives the longitude and latitude from Qānūn<sup>128</sup> and Aṭwāl.<sup>129</sup> In other respects he has independent information that Sandān is in the first climate, one of the coastal cities of Hind, and a dependency of Tāna. The rest of his account<sup>130</sup> is a confusion of Sandān with Sindābūr.

124. "Cocoanut palm, kana and rattan grow there." Elliot, Vol. I, p. 85.

125. ملن Idrīsī Bod. Lib. Graves 42.

ملن Idrīsī Bibliothique Nationale, Paris.

'Mullan,' Elliot—Idrīsī, Vol. I, p. 89.

126. Evidently this is a mistake. Manṣūra is in Sind.

127. "Sandān is the confluence of roads; it is the land of costus, qanna and bamboo, and one of the most important ports."

128. Qānūn                      longitude 106°  
                                    latitude 19°

129. Aṭwāl                      longitude 105° 20'  
                                    latitude 19° 15'

130. See page 75 in this book.

Iştakhrī, Ibn Hawqal, Maqdisī and Idrīsī state that Sandān to Saymūr is five<sup>131</sup> *marhalas*<sup>132</sup> and except for Maqdisī, the other three writers say that it is half a parasang, or one and half miles distant from the sea.

131. 'about five'. de Geoje—Iştakhrī.

132. 'five days'. Elliot—Iştakhrī Vol. I, p. 30.

The texts of Ibn Khurdādhbeh and Idrīsī show variations in readings of the names, as well as in details regarding the places from Útkīn to Kūlī.

Ibn Khurdādhbeh: "From Mahrān to Útkīn, 4 days; to Mayd, 2 parasangs; to Kūlī, 2 parasangs; to Sandān, 18 parasangs."

Idrīsī: "From Kanbāya by sea to Útkīn, 1½ days; to Daybul, 2 days; to Mand, 6 miles; to Kūlī, 6 miles; from Kūlī along the coast to Sūbāra, 5 *marhalas*; then to Sandān, 5 *marhalas*."

R. Sandān is identified with *Sindhudurg*.

Ibn Khurdādhbeh says that from Mahrān to Útkīn, four days' journey to Mayd, two parasangs, to Kūlī, two parasangs, to Sandān, eighteen parasangs. Thence he goes to Mulay, 5 days, Bullin, 2 days, and Bābattan, 2 days. Thus the Sandān of Ibn Khurdādhbeh must lie in the Gulf of Cambay. This view is strengthened by Idrīsī's account of Sandān on folio 79b, which says that Sandān is two days' journey from the island of Malaq, situated opposite to Barūj (Broach). Thence he gives the distance to Baliq (Bullin of Ibn Khurdādhbeh) as two days. Yule's presumption that this Sandān must be the St. John's point of Rennal between Daman and Mahim may be correct. See *Cathay and the Way Thither*. Vol. IV, p. 64. Mas'ūdī's statement that Sandān is a neighbouring town of Kanbāya, Abul Fida's that between the city of Sandān and Manṣūra is fifteen parasangs, also point to the same conclusion.

But a reading of Idrīsī's account on fol. 75 suggests that there is yet another Sandān after Sūbāra, which fact is supported by the accounts of Iştakhrī, Ibn Hawqal and Maqdisī. While the latter is silent in giving the distance between Sūbāra and Sandān, the other two say that Sandān is about five *marhalas* from Sūbāra. But all the three writers give the distance from Kanbāya to Sūbāra and from Sandān to Saymūr. Thus the itinerary of these three authors seems to be Kanbāya to Sūbāra, to Sandān, to Saymūr, and to Sarandib. According to Idrīsī, Sūbāra is five *marhalas* from Kūlī which is reached from Kanbāya through the islands Útkīn, Daybul and Mand after three and a half days and twelve miles. It may be presumed that if one were to avoid the journey to these islands the distance between Kanbāya and

Thus we find Ibn Khurdādhbeh and Mas'ūdī have independent information. İstakhri, Ibn Hawqal and Maqdisī follow each other practically in all points. Idrīsī seems to follow Ibn Khurdādhbeh. Idrīsī goes from Kūlī to Sūbāra and thence to Sandān, while Ibn Khurdādhbeh comes straight to Sandān from Kūlī.

*Saymūr*<sup>133</sup>:

*Saymūr* is mentioned by eight writers: *Mas'ūdī*, *İstakhri*, *Ibn Hawqal*, *Maqdisī*, *Idrīsī*, *Yāqūt*, *Qazwīnī* and *Dimishqī*.

Mas'ūdī says that *Saymūr*<sup>134</sup> is a place on the coast of the Lādawī Sea and Lāriyya language is spoken there.

İstakhri,<sup>135</sup> Ibn Hawqal and Maqdisī state that *Saymūr* is one of the cities of Hind and the distance between Sandān to *Saymūr* is about five *marhalas* and from *Saymūr* to Sarandib is about fifteen

Sūbāra may be the same as stated by the other writers. As Sūbāra, the modern Suparam or Supara (Souppara in the Periplus) is near Bassein, north of Bombay, this Sandān has to be sought for in the south, somewhere in the Ratnagiri District. This Sandān may be identified with Sindhudurg or Malvān.

Malvān north latitude  $16^{\circ} 4'$  and east longitude  $73^{\circ} 31'$ , a busy port and a chief town of the Malvan sub-division.

In a bay blocked almost entirely by rocky reefs there were formerly three islands, two of them about a quarter of a mile from the shore, and the third separated from the mainland by a narrow channel. On the larger of the two outer islands stands the famous fort of Sindhudurg, and on the smaller the ruined fort of Padmagād, now at low tide, connected with the mainland by a rock of sand. On what was once the inner island and is now part of the mainland, lies, almost hid in palms, the old town of Malvān.

The details given by the Arab authors seem to fit in with the history of Sindhudurg or Malvān. For more details see *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. X, pp. 346-352.

133.  All geographers, and Nuwayrī, Part I, pp. 210, 237.

134.  Sprenger—*Mas'ūdī*, p. 346.

135. The texts of İstakhri, Ibn Hawqal and Maqdisī differ from one other in certain details: İstakhri has the remark that Qāmuhul is the first city on the borders of Hind which extends as far as *Saymūr*; the land from *Saymūr* to Qāmuhul belongs to Hind. From Qāmuhul to Makran and Badha and

*marhalas*. There are cathedral mosques in Qāmuhul, Sandān, Saymūr and Kanbāya where Muslim precepts are openly observed. These cities are fertile and big, they produce cocoanuts, bananas, and mangoes ; the greater part of the cultivation is paddy ; a great quantity of honey is available here ; there are no date trees.

Idrīsī says that from Sandān to Saymūr is five *marhalas*<sup>136</sup> but is silent on the place reached from Saymūr. He has new information that Saymūr is in the second climate ; it is a large, well-built town; cocoanut trees grow here in abundance; *qanna*<sup>137</sup> also grows here ; the mountains produce many aromatic plants which are exported to all the countries.<sup>138</sup> Saymūr belongs to Hind.

Yāqūt and Qazwīnī derive their information about Saymūr from Abū Dulaf Mis'ar ibn Muhalhil.<sup>139</sup>

beyond that as far as the boundaries of Multan—all these belong to Sind.

Elliot translates thus: (Vol. I, pp. 28-29).

“From Saimur to Fāmhal, in Hind, and from Fāmhal to Makrān and Budha, and beyond that as far as the boundaries of Multan, all belong to Sind.”

This conveys the impression that from Saymūr as far as Multan belongs to Sind.

“Sindan to Saimur five days, Saimur to Sarandib, 15 days.”

Elliot. Vol. I, p. 30.

“These cocoanut trees out of which toddy is tapped.” de Geoje—Ibn Hawqal, p. 231.

Mangoes, cocoanuts and lemons. Elliot. Vol. I, p. 38.

Saymūr is one of the cities of Sind. de Geoje—*Maqdisi*, p. 477.

Saymūr is written with S and Š by *Maqdisi* (pp. 477 and 486).

Details about cathedral mosques are omitted and instead he has “Sandān, Saymūr and Kanbāya are fertile, prices are cheap; they are centres for rice and honey.” de Geoje—*Maqdisi*, p. 484.

136. “Five days”—Elliot, Vol. I, p. 85.

137. “Henna” Ibid.

138. Elliot's version (Vol. 1, p. 85) omits the words “to all the countries.”

139. He was the author of ‘Ajā'ib-al-Buldān, who travelled in various countries and recorded their wonders.

Yāqūt says that Saymūr is situated on the other slope of the Kāfūr on the north.<sup>140</sup> The inhabitants of Saymūr are of extraordinary beauty, because they are a mixed breed of the Turks and the Chinese. The trade of the Turks is in that direction. This city gives its name to the Saymūrī aloes. It does not grow there but it is imported to this place. The inhabitants have a prayer house situated on the top of a big hill where priests live. In that temple are idols set with precious stones.<sup>141</sup> (They have many small kings.<sup>142</sup>) They dress like the Chinese, have synagogues, churches, mosques and fire temples. (They do not slaughter animals after the manner of Muslims, nor eat animals which die a natural death).<sup>143</sup>

Qazwīnī, who gives practically the same account of the place, has the remark that Saymūr is a city of Hind near the confines of Sind.

Dimishqī places Saymūr after Fāknūr in the list of the cities of Malabār. Saymūr, he says, is on the coast,<sup>144</sup> in a wide gulf through

140. See under 'Mountain Lahful Kāfūr'.

141. فیروزج و سیحاذق

142. Qazwīnī does not mention this point.

143. "The infidels do not slaughter animals nor do they eat meat, fish or eggs, but there are some who will eat animals that have fallen down precipices, or that have been gored to death, but they do not eat those that have died a natural death" Qazwīnī, Vol. II, p. 64.

144. Les trois mss. portent au lieu de (ساعلیہ) مدنیۃ کبیرۃ et نصر au lieu de خوب omettent less mots depuis اکبر jusqu'à بجز اٹھ. Dimishqī footnote (g) on p. 173.

R. This is identified with Shirur.

As the Istakhri group and Idrīsī say that it is five *marhalas* from Sandān to Saymūr it is suggestive that it will lie south of Sandān at the same distance from which Sandān is removed from Sūbāra. This would mean that it has to be sought for in the South Canara District. This view is strengthened when we take into account the statement of Dimishqī that Saymūr is in a

which big ships from the Gulf of Fāknūr pass by; both the gulfs have ebb and low tides.

Thus, *Mas'ūdī* has independent information. *Iṣṭakhrī*, *Ibn Hawqal* and *Maqdisī* follow each other in almost all details, though it is noteworthy that *Maqdisī* does not speak of cathedral mosques and Muslim precepts in his accounts of Sandān and Saymūr. The reason may be either the accounts of *Iṣṭakhrī* and *Ibn Hawqal* were wrong and he might have corrected, or his copies of *Iṣṭakhrī* and *Ibn Hawqal* did not contain any reference to these facts.

It is significant that *Iṣṭakhrī*, *Ibn Hawqal* and *Maqdisī* end with the island of Sarandib. Perhaps that was the usual course of route on the coast in their period.

*Idrīsī* shows his acquaintance with *Ibn Hawqal* but gives, as usual, additional information about the place.

*Yāqūt* and *Qazwīnī* have altogether a different source from *Abū Dulaf* whose account seems to be a confusion of places and facts. *Yāqūt* and *Qazwīnī* differ in the location of the place Saymūr. This indicates that they might have had also other sources of information.

*Dimishqī* has an independent account of this place.

wide gulf through which big ships from the Gulf of Fāknūr (Bārkūr) pass by. Further when we know the distance from Saymūr to Ceylon as 15 *marhalas* from the *Iṣṭakhrī* group, we are convinced that the record of distance given by these authors from Kanbāya to Ceylon is fairly accurate.

Thus it seems clear that Saymūr may be near Fāknūr (Bārkūr).

Perhaps the Saymūr of the Arab authors may be identified with *Shirur*, latitude  $13^{\circ} 56' N$ , longitude  $74^{\circ} 35' E$ . It is now a small port on a creak which forms the northern limit of the Madras Presidency. But the ruins of ancient Shirur are extensive in the neighbourhood and they point it out as having been once a large town. *Manual of South Canara District*, Vol. I, p. 3 and Vol. II; p. 248.

*Idrīsī*'s statement that Barūj to Saymūr is 2 days shows his confusion.

Shāliyāt<sup>145</sup> :

Shāliyāt is mentioned by *Abul Fidā* who says that it is one of the cities of *Manibār*. The inhabitants of Shāliyāt and Shinklī are jews, it is further stated, but his narrator does not specify which of these two cities contains jews.

Sindābūr<sup>146</sup> :

*Mas'ūdī*, *Idrīsī*, *Dimishqī* and *Abul Fidā* mention the town Sindābūr.

*Mas'ūdī* says that in the sea of Hind are many crocodiles; for it has several estuaries as the estuary of Sindābūrā, in the kingdom of Bāghira in Hind.<sup>147</sup>

## 145. شایات

*R.* Shāliyāt is generally identified with Beypore, 6½ miles south of Calicut. But it seems more correct to identify it with *Chaliyam* in Palanchannūr *amsam*, an island formed by the Beypore and Kadalundi rivers. On a rocky islet lying south of the entrance to the Beypore river and connected with the mainland by a groyne, the masonry foundations of a formidable fortress have been excavated.

*Gazetteer of the Malabar and Anjengo Districts* p. 414.

Compare *Ibn Battūta* :—Shāliyat, a most beautiful town, in which the fabrics called by its name are manufactured.

Gibbs translation, p. 240.

The fabrics referred to by *Ibn Battūta* may be (చెలుగ) *callā* Telugu : *sella*, Kanarese : *śalla*, Malayalam : *śalla*, Tulu : *śalle*, muslin, thin mull of loose texture. There is also (చెలుగాలి) *callāri*, cloth of loose texture. (చెలుగాలి) *callāli*, coloured strips of cloth hanging from buffoon's dresses.

146. بورا صنادا Barbier—*Mas'ūdī*.

بورا صنک بورا Sprenger—*Mas'ūdī*.

بورا سند بورا Idrīsī, *Dimishqī* *Abul Fidā*, and *Nuwayrī*, Part I, p. 237.

147. "In this sea are many crocodiles, for it has several estuaries and gulfs as the estuary of Sindābūr (میدا بور) in the kingdom of Bāghar

باغر (باغر) باغر in India." Sprenger—*Mas'ūdī*, p. 234.

Idrīsī says Sindābūr is in the second climate ; from the town of Barūj<sup>148</sup> along the coast to Sindābūr, four *marhalas*.<sup>149</sup> Sindābūr is situated on a great gulf where ships cast anchor ; it is a commercial town and contains fine buildings and rich bazaars. From hence to Tāna<sup>150</sup> upon the coast is four days.

148. Baruh, Elliot, Vol. I, p. 89.

149. Four days, Elliot, Vol. I, p. 89.

150. Bāna (Tāna), Elliot, Vol. I, p. 89.

અનુભૂતિ Idrīsī Bod. Lib. Ms., Graves 42.

R. Sindābūr is identified with *Shadāshivagad*.

Idrīsī's statement that from Barūj to Sindābūr is four *marhalas* cannot fit in either with any of his own accounts of Sandān, Saymūr and other places or with that of any other author. Again his information that Tāna is four days from Sindābūr clashes with Abul Fidā's statement that Sindābūr is situated about three days' journey from Tāna. When we learn from Ibn Baṭṭūṭa that Sindābūr is reached a day before Hunāwar, it becomes clear that Sindābūr lay immediately north of Hunāwar, and Tāna further north. Thus Abul Fidā's statement that Sindābūr is reached from Tāna seems to be correct. Idrīsī appears to have confused the two accounts of Sindābūr and Tāna. His account would fit in, if the facts about Tāna are put in before Sindābūr. Supposing Idrīsī's account is corrected as suggested above, it would mean that Barūj to Tāna is four *marhalas*. This would suit in the present position of Tāna, north of Bombay, near Kalyān, and also that of Sindābūr which may be identified either with *Siddhāpur* or *Shadāshivagad*.

*Siddhāpur* or *Shiddāpur* : At the north corner of a large plain about three miles east of Kārwār is a village called *Siddhāpur* by Hindus and *Saitānpūr* by the Muslims. There are two ruined forts, and there are no stones or other remains of buildings. But there are two large stone walls with steps and chambers, which are said to have been made by Hābu kings whose capital was *Siddhāpur*. A small navigable inlet, said to have been once large and deep, runs close to the old town. Many crocodiles are found in the Kalinadi at Kadra and *Siddhāpur*. They eat buffalo calves and sometimes attack men. These details suggest that this *Siddhāpur* is the Sindābūr of *Mas'ūdī* and of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa. The kingdom of *Bāghira*, referred to by *Mas'ūdī*, may be the kingdom of Hābu kings who reigned at *Siddhāpur*. *Bombay Gazetteer*, however, questions this theory on the ground that all

Dimishqī mentions Sindābūr as the thirteenth place in the course of the description of cities on the coast of Hind after the city of Barūs. Tāna is placed as the ninth and Manībār as the fifteenth. Dimishqī says that Sindābūr is the qaṣba; there are in it temples for Hindus and cathedral mosques for Muslims.

Abul Fidā has a combined account of Sandān and Sindābūr. He quotes from some navigators who say that Sandān is Sindābūr and gives the reading as Sindābūr from Abul 'Uqūl. He has also given other details from some travellers who say that Sindābūr is situated at a distance of about three days' journey from Tāna in a gulf of the green sea; that Sindābūr is the last of the cities of Jazrāt and the beginning of Manībār.

*Sinjli and Kabashkān*<sup>151</sup> :

*Ibn Khurdādhbeh*, *Idrīsī*, *Dimishqī* and *Abul Fidā* mention *Sinjli* and *Kabashkān*.

*Ibn Khurdādhbeh* says that *Sinjli* and *Kabashkān* are reached in one day from Bābattan. Rice is produced here. From hence to the mouth of the river Kūdāfarid is three parasangs.<sup>152</sup>

Portuguese references and the Sindābūr of the Turkish book of navigation called *Mohit* (1554) belong rather to Chitakul and not to Siddhāpūr.

*Chitakul*, now known as *Shadāshivagad*, is a port on the north bank of the entrance of the Kalinadi, about three miles north of Kār-wār. *Shadāshivagad* is so called from a ruined fort of that name built on the site of the old port of Chitakul or Cintakora, by a Sonda chief in the seventeenth century.

See *Bombay Gazetteer* Vol. XV, Part II, Kanara, pp. 277-79.

151. سنجلي و كباشكان — *Ibn Khurdādhbegh*. p. 63, foot-note (h).

A المانيجي sic. B المانيجي

منجي و كباش — *Idrīsī*.

منجي شكان — *Dimishqī* and *Abul Fida*.

152. "From Bās to Sajī and 'Askān is two days' journey, in which latter place rice is cultivated." *Elliot*, Vol. I, p. 16.

Idrīsī informs us that from Jurbatan to Sanjā and Kaykār<sup>153</sup> is two days.<sup>154</sup> These are maritime towns near to each other. They produce great quantities of rice and corn. From hence to Kal-kayān<sup>155</sup> one day.

Dimishqī mentions that most of the inhabitants of Shinkli<sup>156</sup> are Jews.

153. ✓ كَبَّاسَرْ وَ سَانْجَيْ Idrīsī—Bod. Lib. Ms., Graves, 42.

Sanji and Kaikasār, Elliot, Vol. I, p. 90.

154. سِنْجَلِيْ Idrīsī—Bod. Lib., Graves, 42.

155. كَبَّاسَرْ Idrīsī—Bod. Lib. Poc., 375.

156. Dimishqī mentions Shinkli after Fandarīna.

R. Sinjli is identified with Cranganore (Kodungallur).

We learn from our authors that two names go together. Sinjli and Kabashkān from Bābattan, (Ibn Khurdādhbeh), Sanjā and Kaikār from Jurbatan (Idrīsī) Shinkli and Shāliyāt (Abul Fidā), Shinkli (Dimishqī) Calicut to Shāliyāt (Ibn Battūta). Thus four out of five writers mention Shinkli in some form or other and three writers couple it with three different names, Kabashkān, Kaykār and Shāliyāt, and give the impression that they lie close to each other, and that Sinjli is the most important town. As Shāliyāt is identified with Beypore, six miles from Calicut, it may be supposed that the town of Sinjli might have existed near Beypore. But Yule in his *Cathay and the Way Thither*, (1866, Vol. I, p. 75), identifies Shinkli with Cranganore. His arguments are convincing, yet the distance given by Ibn Khurdādhbeh as one day to Sinjli and Kabashkān from Bābattan (Baliapatam) and by Idrīsī two days to Sanjā and Kaykār from Jurbatan (near Cannanore) seems to be very short, if Sinjli were to be Cranganore. On the other hand, reference to Jews in Sinjli by Dimishqī and Abul Fidā is impressive and makes us believe that Sinjli can be no other town than Cranganore though the distance is against this conjecture. But there are differences between Elliot's and de Geoje's versions of Ibn Khurdādhbeh; the former has two days, the latter one day; likewise the two manuscript copies of Idrīsī at the Bodleian Library give one day and two days. Then again there are differences in the readings of the names. These facts lead one to the conclusion that when greater numbers of authors agree on one point, the slight variations

Abul Fidā says that Shinkli is one of the cities of Manibār (Malabar). The inhabitants of Shāliyāt and Shinklī are Jews, but the narrator does not specify which of these cities contains Jews.

Idrīsī seems to have had access to the works of Ibn Khurdādhab. The information about the places given by Idrīsī agrees in the most part with the account of Ibn Khurdādhab, though there are variations in the readings of the place-names by the two writers. Perhaps Idrīsī's copy of Ibn Khurdādhab contained such readings with the additional remark that these are maritime towns, or Idrīsī might have checked the information of Ibn Khurdādhab in the light of his own enquiries or facts that were current during his period.

Dimishqī and Abul Fidā have independent information.

shown by a few may be ignored, as it is in the case of Mulay (see under Kawlam). Certain points definitely asserted by some authors who are confirmed by non-Arab sources may be taken to be correct and the divergent points given by a few Arab writers may be put aside as mistakes, as in the present case. Dimishqī and Abul Fidā speak of Jews, the former, definitely says that most of the inhabitants are Jews, while the latter says that both Shinklī and Shāliyat are inhabited by Jews, though his informant knew not which. In the light of Dimishqī's information it may be understood that Shinklī was inhabited by Jews and this is also corroborated by non-Arab sources.

Thus it may be concluded that Shinklī is *Cranganore* (Kodungallūr).

If Sinjli is *Cranganore*, what is the Kabashkān of Ibn Khurdādhab? What is the Kaykār of Idrīsī? From the account of these authors it appears that they might be sought for near *Cranganore*.

In this connection it may be noticed that the similarity of this name with Kalaikarias of Ptolemy who mentions it along with another town Bramagara between Tundis (Kadalundi) and Muziris (*Cranganore*) gives strength to a growing conviction in the mind of the reader that Ibn Khurdādhab and Idrīsī had also utilised the materials from the Greek and Roman sources without any critical analysis.

Kalaikarias of Ptolemy is identified rather doubtfully with Cahlacory by Kanaka Sabhai Pillay.

See Kanaka Sabhai Pillay, Tamils 1800 Years Ago, p. 18.

*Sūbāra*<sup>157</sup> :

Sūbāra is mentioned by seven writers from *Mas'ūdī* (943) to *Abul Fidā* (1273-1331).

*Mas'ūdī* says that Sūbāra<sup>158</sup> is a neighbouring town of Kanbāya where Kanbāyan sandals are made and Lāriyya language is spoken.

*Iṣtakhrī*, *Ibn Hawqal* and *Maqdisī* state that Sūbāra<sup>159</sup> is one of the cities of Hind<sup>160</sup> and is about four *marhalas* from Kanbāya.

The two copies of *Idrīsī*'s manuscripts in the Bodleian Library say that Sūbāra is about five *marhalas* from Kūli<sup>161</sup> along the coast. Kūli<sup>162</sup>, as stated by these MSS. is reached from Kanbāya through the islands Übkin, Daybul and Mand after travelling three and a half days and twelve miles.<sup>163</sup>

*Idrīsī* has additional information. Sūbāra is in the second climate. It is populous, a busy town, and one of the entrepots of India. They fish for pearls here. Sūbāra is in the vicinity of

157. سُبَارَة Mas'ūdī, *Iṣtakhrī*, *Ibn Hawqal*, *Maqdisī* *Idrīsī* and *Dimishqī*.  
سَفَالَة Abul Fidā. He distinguishes it from سَعَالَة *Nuwayri*, Part I, p. 237.

158. Safura is a place on the coast of Ladawi Sea. Sprenger—*Mas'ūdī*, p. 346.

159. "Sūrabāya"—Elliot—*Iṣtakhrī*, Vol. I, p. 30.

160. It is one of the cities of Sind. de Geoje—*Maqdisī*, p. 476.  
It is one of the cities of Hind, *ibid*, p. 476.

161. "From Kanbaya to Sūbāra about five days," Elliot, Vol. I, p. 85.

162. "Būli", *Idrīsī* Ms. Poc. 375.

163. From Kanbāya to the island Übkin a day and a half; from Übkin to the island Daybul two days; from Daybul to the island Mand six miles; from Mand to Kūli six miles; from Kūli along the coast to Sūbāra about five *marhalas*. *Idrīsī* Ms.

Tāra<sup>164</sup> a small island on which some cocoanut trees and costus grow.

Dimishqī places Sūbāra as the seventh in the list of places on the coast of Hind, after Barūš in the direction of Malabar. Sūbāra is placed in his list before Tāna which is the ninth and Sindābūr the thirteenth place.

Abul Fidā quotes, in part, Idrīsī for details about the town, but differs from him by giving a new reading of the name as Sufāla,<sup>165</sup> and assigning it to the first climate. He has also one additional piece of information that Sūbāra is on the coast in the land of pirates and quotes longitude and latitude from Qānūn and Aṭwāl.<sup>166</sup>

All the sources except Mas'ūdī, Maqdisī and Dimishqī give the distance from Sūbāra to Sandān as five *marhalas*.<sup>167</sup> Regarding the distance of Sūbāra from the sea, Iṣṭakhrī followed by Ibn Hawqal, Maqdisī<sup>168</sup> and Idrīsī give half a parasang or one and a half miles; the other geographers are silent.

164. Idrīsī—Bod. Lib. Ms. Graves, 42 omits Tāra.

"Bara", Elliot, Vol. I, p. 85.

165. Abul Fidā gives also another reading of the place taken by him from Idrīsī and Bīrūnī as Sūfāra سُفَارَة This is not confirmed by either Elliot's version of Idrīsī and the two MSS. in the Bodleian, or by Dr. Sachau's edition of Bīrūnī, but Elliot's version of Rāshid-al-Dīn from Bīrūnī has Sūfāra. See Elliot, Vol. I, p. 66.

166. Qānūn and Aṭwāl. Longitude, 104° 55', Latitude 19° 35'.

167. "Ten days," Elliot, Vol. I, p. 39. Footnote 2 on the same page, says :

"So according to Gildemeister; but 'five' seems to be the right number. See Iṣṭakhrī and Idrīsī."

168. The MSS. of Maqdisī show variations between one, about one, and half a parasang as being the distance of Sūbāra from the sea.

Thus we find that *Mas'ūdī* has independent information. *Iṣṭakhrī* is followed by *Ibn Hawqal*<sup>169</sup> and *Maqdisī*. *Idrīsī*, based upon *Ibn Hawqal*, has additional information, which is followed by *Abul-Fidā* who, however, differs from him on certain points, gives one additional item of information and quotes the longitude and latitude from *Qānūn* and *Aṭwāl*.

*Tāna*<sup>170</sup> :

*Tāna* is mentioned by four writers, *Mas'ūdī*, *Idrīsī*, *Dimishqī* and *Abul Fidā*.

*Mas'ūdī* says that *Tāna*<sup>171</sup> is a place on the coast of the *Lārawī* sea, and *Lāriyya* language is spoken there.

*Idrīsī* relates that from *Sindābūr* to *Tāna*<sup>172</sup> upon the coast is four days. It is a big town<sup>173</sup> upon a great gulf where vessels anchor, and from whence they set sail. (*Qanna* grows on its mountains and plains ; *ṭabāshīr* is gathered from the roots of *qanna*\* and exported to all countries in the east and west).<sup>174</sup>

169. *Ibn Hawqal* has one additional remark that *Sūbāra* possesses a large territory, as he has already said of *Qāmuhul* and *Kanbāya*.

R. *Sūbāra* is identified with modern *Suparem* or *Supara* (*Souppara* in the *Periplus*) near *Bassein*, north of *Bombay*.

170. *تَانَة* *Mas'ūdī*, *Idrīsī*, *Dimishqī* and *Abul Fidā*.

*Nuwayrī*, Part I, pp. 210, 211, 237.

171. *تَانَة* *Barbier—Mas'ūdī*, p. 330.

172. *تَانَة* *Idrīsī*, Bod. Lib., *Graves*, 42.

*Bāna* (*Tānna*), *Elliot*, Vol. I, p. 89.

173. "Pretty town." *Elliot*, Vol. I, p. 89.

\* *صول القنا* *Idrīsī*, Bod. *Mss.*

174. "In the neighbouring mountains *kanā* and *tabāshir* grow. The roots of *kanā* which are gathered here are transported to the east and to the west".—*Elliot*, Vol. I, p. 89.

From Tāna to Fandarina, along the coast, is four *marhalas*.<sup>175</sup>

Dimishqī says that Tāna is in the second climate.<sup>176</sup> It is on the coast.<sup>177</sup> Tānash<sup>178</sup> is on the coast; there is a cathedral mosque for the Muslims; then a port<sup>179</sup> full of merchants and merchandise.

Abul Fidā says that Tāna is in the first climate, one of the cities of Hind on the coast, on the border of Lārān. He quotes in part Idrīsī,<sup>180</sup> gives different accounts from other sources,<sup>181</sup> and

175. "Bāna (Tānna) to Fandarina is four days' journey," Elliot, Vol. I, p. 89.

176.

الإقليم الثاني - - - - وبعض العند الساحلي من تانه و سينور  
و سندان و جزيرة سيلان

Dimishqī, p. 19.

177. MSS. St. Pet. et L. om. و ساحي ساحلية و تانه ساحلية  
Foot note (c) p. 173, Dimishqī.

178. Dimishqī is evidently confusing Tāna and Tānash. Tāna is associated with Tānshi clothes, as we learn from Birūni's account quoted by Abul Fidā. Perhaps Dimishqī, who knew this fact, thought that Tāna and Tānash are two different places.

179. MSS. St. Pet., L. et Cop. omettent ثم فرضة كثيرة التجارة والموال

Foot note (d), p. 173, Dimishqī.

Mehren translates thus: "Thanesh, situee non loin de la mer, avec une grande mosquée, est un lieu d'étape pour les marchands et continent beaucoup de richesses." Mehren—Dimishqī, p. 233.

180. Idrīsī: "The plain as well as mountains here have forests of qanna. Tabāshīr is extracted from qanna and exported to all countries."

181. Some travellers: "Tāna is in Jazrāt on the eastern side, and Manibār is in a westerly direction from it."

Ibn Sa'id: "Tāna is the last of the cities of Lār, well known in the mouths of merchants. The inhabitants of this coast of India are all infidels who worship idols. Muslims also live among them."

also the longitude and latitude from *Qānūn* and *Atwāl*.<sup>182</sup>

Thus we find that *Mas'ūdī*, *Idrisī* and *Dimishqī* have independent information though the accounts of *Mas'ūdī* and *Abul Fidā* show in effect that *Tāna* is a coastal town. *Abul Fidā* quotes in part *Idrisī* and also gives divers accounts from various sources which are contradictory to each other.

*Tāndā*<sup>183</sup> :

*Dimishqī* mentions that *Tāndā* is one of the cities of the Big *Ma'bār*.

*Birūnī*: " *Tāna* is on the coast and is associated with the name *Tānshi* *تَانْشِي* and from it the *Tānshiyya* fabrics." (The information from *Birūnī* as quoted by *Abul Fidā* is not found in Dr. Sachau's edition of *Birūnī*).

Some travellers: " *Tāna* and neighbouring villages are surrounded by water and it is an island in the sea. Its correct longitude is 92° rather than 104°."

182. *Qānūn*: Longitude 104° 20'  
Latitude 90° 20'

*Atwāl*: Longitude 92°  
Latitude 19° 20'

R. *Tāna* is identified with *Thana* between *Bassein* and *Bombay*.  
For a discussion see under *Sindābūr*.

183. *تَانْدَة*

R. *Tāndā* is identified with *Tondi*. *Tondi* is a port about twenty miles east from *Kāliyār Kōvil* and is on the road from *Madura*. This was known to classical Tamils as *Colan Tondi* (கோலன் தெந்தி) and was a great centre of eastern trade including that of the Chinese in the days of classical Tamil literature. See V. R. R. Dikshitar, *Śilappadikāram*, p. 204, note 1. It seems to have retained some of its importance even in the centuries of Muslim invasions. See Dr. S. K. Ayyangar, *South India and her Muhammadan Invaders*, p. 206.

*Tandiyür*<sup>184</sup> :

Abul Fidā states that Tandiyür is at the extremity of Manībār. It is situated to the east of Ra's Haylī and has a number of gardens.

*Tūsārī*<sup>185</sup> :

Dimishqī mentions Tūsārī, stating that it has a big gulf through which ships pass.

*Ūtkīn*<sup>186</sup> :

Ūtkīn is mentioned by Ibn Khurdādhbeh and Idrīsī.

## 184. تندیور

R. This may be identified with *Kadalundi* or *Kadaltondi*, the raised ground by the sea standing on an inlet about four miles south of Beypore. It is now a small port and a fishing village; but persons on the spot seem to think that it must formerly have been one and in communication with the backwater. This *Kadalundi* is supposed by some as *Tyndis* of Ptolemy but K. S. Pillay has a different suggestion that it was near the site of the modern *Pallikkari* about five miles north of *Quilandy*. However, if *Tyndis* of Ptolemy and *Tandiür* of Abul Fidā were to be taken to refer to one and the same place *Kadalundi* seems to be a better suggestion in view of the statement by Abul Fidā that *Tandiür* is at the extremity of *Manībār*.

See *Kanaka Sabhai Pillay, Tamils 1800 Years Ago*, p. 18. *Gazetteer of the Malabar and Anjengo Districts*, Vol. I, p. 415.

## 185. توساری. Paris MSS.

It is mentioned by Dimishqī as the third city before *Sūbāra*.

R. This place cannot be identified.

## 186. او تکین

Ibn Khurdādhbeh, P. 62 F. note (k) A

او تکین  
بکر

جزیرة او بکین

'Bakar'

Elliot—Ibn Khurdādhbeh, Vol. I, p. 15.

'Isle of Aubkin' Elliot—Idrīsī, Vol. I, p. 85.

Ibn Khurdādhbeh says that it is four days' journey from Mahrān in Sind to Ūtkīn. In this land qanna is cultivated up the hills and corn is grown in the valleys. The inhabitants are brigands, proud and lawless.

Idrisī includes the isle of Ūtkīn in the second climate. He describes that it is one and a half day's sail<sup>187</sup> from Kanbāya and from Ūtkīn to Daybul two days.

187. "Two and a half days." Elliot. p. 85.

R. It may be somewhere in the Gulf of Cambay. See under Kūlī.

### (c) LIST OF DOUBTFUL PLACES

*Abīna*<sup>188</sup> :

*Ibn Khurdādhbeh* says that *Abīna*<sup>188</sup> is four days' journey from *Ūrnashīn* (Orissa). There are elephants in that place.

188. أَيْنَ! *Ibn Khurdādhbeh*, p. 64. Footnote (l) B, أَيْنَ!

*Ainā*. Elliot—*Ibn Khurdādhbeh*, p. 16.

de Goeje, the editor and translator of *Ibn Khurdādhbeh*, transliterates the word as *Abyna*. de Goeje's translation p. 43.

"*Ainā* is four days' journey, where also elephants and asses are met with." Elliot. Vol. I, p. 16.

Footnote 4 on the same page says that "Aina" may possibly be meant for Andhra, "Telingana."

R. The route from place to place as narrated by *Ibn Khurdādhbeh* seems to indicate the direction from south to north, while Elliot has taken it to mean *vice versa*.

*Ibn Khurdādhbeh* says: From *Bābattan* they reached *Sinjī* and *Kabashkān* in one day. Thence they reached *Kūdāfarid* at a distance of three parasangs, thence to *Kaylkān* and *Lawa* and *Kanja* after two days' journey. Leaving *Kanja* they reached *Samandar* at a distance of ten parasangs. They went from *Samandar* to *Ūrnashīn* at a distance of twelve parasangs. Then from *Ūrnashīn* they reached *Abīna* after four day's journey.

Thus it is very clear that *Abīna* is to be sought for north of Orissa and not south of it.

It is not very easy to identify this place now. Perhaps it may be sought for round about *Tamluk*, *Midnapore District*, *Bengal*. *Tamluk* is historically the most interesting place in the district. It is frequently mentioned in *Jain*, *Buddhist* and *Brahmanical* works. *Ptolemy* also has noticed it in his geography, placing it on the river *Ganges*. *Chinese* pilgrims mention it several times. As it was a port at which merchants and others embarked for *Ceylon* and the *Far East*, it is very likely that the *Arabs* also might have known it, or any other smaller place, round about *Tamluk*, which they called *Abīna*.

For a detailed account of *Tamluk*, see *Bengal District Gazetteer*, Vol. XXVI, p. 220.

*Fayṣūr*<sup>189</sup> :

Fayṣūr is mentioned by *Qazwīnī* who says that it is a country in Hind.

*Hūrīn*<sup>190</sup> :

*Ibn Khurdādhbeh* mentions that Hūrīn is one of the famous cities of Hind, although he gives no account of it.

*Jājulla*<sup>191</sup> :

This place is mentioned by Yāqūt and by *Qazwīnī*.

Yāqūt who has his information from Abū Dulaf says that he went to Jājulla which is situated on the top of a mountain of which half rises over the sea and the other half over the land. There is a king like the king of Kalah.

The inhabitants eat wheat and eggs, but do not eat fish, nor do they slaughter animals after the manner of the Muslims.

They have a big temple. The inhabitants were the only people to oppose Alexander when he invaded India.

Cinnamon is brought hither and exported to the rest of the world. The cinnamon tree is a free tree and belongs to no one individual.

The inhabitants dress like the people of Kalah, except that during festivals they dress themselves in Yemnite dress.

They have an observatory; study the properties of the stars carefully, and have complete knowledge of them. Among the stars, they worship قلب اسد (The lion heart). Superstitions have effect on their character.

189. فیصور

190. هورین

191. جاجلة Yāqūt and *Qazwīnī*.

Qazwīnī repeats some of this information and adds that the city is well fortified, and that if the people wish any occurrence to happen they exert their will-power to achieve it and continue to do so till it happens. It is related that one of their kings sent to Kisrā, presents which included two sealed boxes. When they were opened each contained a man. When these two men were questioned, they said, "If we wish to achieve anything we strive with our will-power and it happens." They disapproved that account but the two continued to say, "If there is an enemy for the king, he is not repelled by force. We exert our will-power and he dies." Then they said to the two men, "Exert your will to bring out your own death." The two men asked them to shut the door of their respective boxes. They did so and when they returned and opened the door they found the two men dead. They learnt to their sorrow that the two men had spoken the truth.

*Kalba and Kanām*<sup>192</sup> :

*Ibnul Faqīh* and *Qazwīnī* both relate the same story but in connection with two towns of different names. Neither gives definite information about the exact location of the place to which reference is made.

*Ibnul Faqīh*, speaking of Kanām, says that it is the territory between Sind and Hind. On the authority of 'Abdullāh Ibn 'Amr Ibn al 'As, he says that in this place there is a duck of brass on a brass column. On the *'Ashūra* day the duck spreads its wings, stretches out its beak and pours out sufficient water to satisfy their fields, animals and estates till the next year.\*

*Qazwīnī* tells the same story in connection with a place called Kalba, which he says is in Hind.

192.

*اے - ملک*

\* The information about the supply of water may have reference to aqueducts.

*Mandal*<sup>193</sup> :

*Qazwīnī* says that *Mandal* is a city in Hind. A large quantity of aloes is obtained here, called *Mandalī* aloes but the aloe does not grow here.

*Mountain Lahful-Kāfūr*<sup>194</sup> :

We have information of this place from *Yāqūt* and *Qazwīnī*.

*Yāqūt* tells us that, after leaving *Malibār*, *Abū Dulaf* went to *Lahful-Kāfūr*, which is a big mountain where there are some towns overlooking the sea. Some of them are *Qāmarūn*, *Qamārayān* and *Şanf*, associated with *Mandal-Qāmarūnī*, *Qumārī* and *Şanfī* aloe. *Saymūr*<sup>195</sup> is found on the other slope of the mountain.

*Qazwīnī* mentions *Jabal-al-Kāfūr*, a big mountain in Hind overlooking the sea with many towns on its slopes. Of these the town of *Qumār* is associated with *Qumārī* aloes, *Qāmarūn* with *Qāmarūnī* aloes, *Şanf* with *Sanfī* aloes.\*

*Qālūn* : قالون

*Qālūn* is mentioned by *Ibn Khurdādhbeh* as one of the cities of Hind, although he gives no description of the place.

*Qazdār* : قزدار

*Qazdār* is mentioned by *Qazwīnī*, who says that it is a country in Hind, and that the inhabitants of this country are very honest.

193. مَنْدَل

194. لَهْفُ الْكَافُورِ *Yāqūt*.

جَبَلُ الْكَافُورِ *Qazwīnī*.

195. See under *Saymūr*.

\* For details on aloes and camphor mentioned under *Mandal*, and *Mountain Kāfūr*, see the chapter on Products.

*Sāmal*: سالم

Sāmal is mentioned by *Ibn Khurdādhbeh* as one of the famous cities of Hind, although no account of it is given.

*Samandar*:<sup>196</sup>

*Ibn Khurdādhbeh* and *Idrīsī* mention Samandar.

*Ibn Khurdādhbeh* says that from Kanja to Samandar is ten parasangs. Rice is produced here. (Aloe is imported to this place, from a distance of fifteen or twenty days' journey through sweet water from Qāmrūn and other places).<sup>197</sup> From Samandar to Urnashīn<sup>198</sup> is twelve parasangs.

*Idrīsī* says that from Kanja to Samandar is thirty miles. Samandar is a large commercial town where good profits are made. (The inhabitants possess much merchandise and goods. Many come and go to that place).<sup>199</sup> It is one of the dependencies of Qannawj, the king of these cities.<sup>200</sup> The city of Samandar is situated on a *khawr*<sup>201</sup> that reaches it from the city of Qashmir. Grains, plenty

196. سالم *Ibn Khurdādhbeh*, *Idrīsī*.

Samundar, Elliot—*Ibn Khurdādhbeh*, Vol. I, p. 16.

Samandār, Elliot—*Idrīsī*, Vol. I, p. 90.

سندھ Nuwayrī, Part I, p. 237.

197. The account within brackets is given under Kanja by Elliot. It is slightly different:

“From Kūra to Kilakān, Lüār and Kanja is two days' journey, in all which wheat and rice are cultivated and into which the wood of aloes is imported from Kāmūl and other neighbouring places by the fresh-water route in fifteen days.”

Elliot, Vol. I, p. 16.

198. Urasir. Elliot, Vol. I, p. 16.

199. Elliot's version omits this. See p. 90.

200. دھی من اعمال الفتنج و هو ملك تملک البلاد

201. خور inlet, creek. Elliot's translation has 'river'. See, Vol. I, p. 90.  
A. G.—12

of rice and corn, are available in this city.<sup>202</sup> Aloe wood is brought here from the country of Kārmūt,<sup>203</sup> fifteen days' distance, by a river of which the waters are sweet..... Opposite<sup>204</sup> to this city there is a big island and the distance between the two is one day. This island is well peopled and frequented by merchants from all countries. From here to the island of Sarandib is four days. To the north at seven days' distance from Samandar is the city of Qashmir the inner<sup>205</sup> celebrated throughout India, which is under the rule of Qannawj.

202. "Rice and various grains, especially excellent wheat, are to be obtained here."

Elliot, Vol. I, p. 90.

203. (Kamrup ?) Elliot, Vol. I, p. 90.

204. *سَامِنَة* is in the original, it is corrected as *سَامِنَة*

205. *قَشْمِيرَانِ الْأَخْلَةَ*

## CHAPTER II

### INTRODUCTION

We should expect an ethnological account of the Indian people to include five separate subjects, namely, race, language, caste, religion and custom. The first of these subjects, race or descent, is an involved problem, and there is much division of opinion among present day scholars in this field. The second, language, can be dealt with more conclusively on account of the accessibility of the available materials. The remaining three, caste, religion and custom, depend on personal observations. It is on these subjects that a certain amount of information is furnished by the Arab writers, but curiously enough, the questions of language and race do not appear to have engaged their attention.

Mas'ūdī alone says that the people of Hind speak Kiriyya (Kanarese ?) language and that they are a distinct race from the Negroes and *Damdim*.

The accounts of ethnology are gathered principally from the works of the first group of writers who cover the period from about the ninth to the tenth century A.D. The leading writers who furnish information on the people are Sulaymān, Abū Zayd, Ibnu'l Faqīh, Mas'ūdī and Abul Faraj. Of these, Mas'ūdī was in all probability the only one who actually travelled in the East, and his observations are confined to the area lying between Ceylon and Kanbāya, a city north of the Narbada. The other writers, as we have seen, obtained their information by inquiry from merchants, travellers and wandering *faqīrs* and from a study of the works of previous writers.

These authors rarely refer to any particular place when they give information about the people. Sulaymān mentions Kūkam-malī but does not speak about its people. He gives a few details about the people of Tilwa though he has confused it with the coun-

try of pepper. Further his information on Hind and its people is mixed rather indiscriminately with that on China and the Chinese.

The accounts of these writers, as it happens, refer principally to the coastal cities of the Indian peninsula, Ceylon and other islands in the East Indies. As the trade of Southern India with Arabia, Persia, Rome and Egypt on the west, and the East-Indies and China on the east, was very extensive at this period, it may be deduced that the people with whom the Arabs came into contact were preponderantly of South Indian origin and culture, and that the accounts under consideration refer chiefly to the people of Southern India.

This view is confirmed by numerous details. For example, rice is the chief food in the South and both Sulaymān and Ibnu'l Faqīh have drawn attention to this, declaring that Indians eat rice only. The Hindu custom of eating in seclusion is noticed by Abū Zayd. This custom, it should be realised, prevails even to this day among the divers castes of the people of the South. The habit of bathing early in the morning before breakfast is common among all the Hindus in India, yet it is not rigidly observed except in the South. Ceremonies and conventions observed on the death of a person, the dress, ornaments, caste system, institution of *dēva-dāsīs* —all these details combine to give a picture of Southern India. It is not easy, however, to establish clearly to which community of the South these various details refer. They may refer to the peoples on the west coast, the Kanarese and the Malayalis, or those in the extreme south, the Tamils. The Arabs do not seem to have known the Andhras. Information on various forms of ordeals, punishment, and death ceremonies might well refer to customs prevalent among the Malayalis and the Tamils. The spirit of sacrifice on the part of the people for their kings, described by Abū Zayd, may refer to the *Mahāmakham* festival instituted by the Perumāls of Malabar.

The account about the people of Hind seeking learned assemblies in Sarandib (Ceylon) and of the mischief effected by some of the Indians there indicates frequent intercourse between these two countries.

Abul Faraj's detailed account of the religious sects shows the prevalence in India of *Śaktism*, *Śaivism* and *Jainism*. These remarks, it is evident, are also applicable to Southern India.

The complete absence of any reference to Buddhist teaching in these accounts indicates that the struggle between Buddhism and Śaivism was long since concluded and that the worship of Śiva had become common again.

It is well-known that the principal seat and great centre of the cult of Śiva is Benares (Vārāṇasi), a city whose world-wide celebrity has earned for it the title of Kāśi 'the resplendent.' It was one of the first cities to acquire a reputation for sanctity and is still regarded as the most sacred spot in all India.

Pilgrimage to Benares is not mentioned by these writers, who, however, describe Multan as the Makka of the Hindus. Mention is made of Gangā-yātra (pilgrimage to the Ganges); yet it is not possible to say that this pilgrimage included a visit to the city of Benares, on the banks of the Ganges, since the account only testifies to the holiness of the river Ganges.

Such instances of vague and meagre information on the part of these Arab writers strengthen in the reader's mind a growing conviction that on the whole they were not particularly interested in the study of the civilisation and culture of the Hindus. This attitude doubtless proceeds from their firm adherence to their own Faith, a feeling which discouraged them from inquiring too deeply into the teachings and practices of other religions which they did not esteem as highly as their own Faith. A narrow-minded writer might well have thought it even irreligious to write about such things. Even Bīrūnī, the distinguished savant, who wrote an Arabic book on Brahmanical India gave a title<sup>1</sup> to his work "the

1. "An accurate description of all categories of Hindu thought, as well those which are admissible as those which must be rejected." Dr. Sachau.

awkwardness of which seems to arise from the punctiliousness of a delicate conscience."

It may be wondered why, if this is the case, the Arabs mention Multan. But they were in direct contact with Multan, since it was in Sind and the priests of the temple used to sell them the finest quality of aloes, presented to the idol as offerings by the pilgrims coming from distant parts of the land. Therefore they are able to furnish many details about Multan, the description of the idol, its worship, and other facts, although this does not imply any particular interest on their part.

Facts on ethnology are also gathered from the fourth group of writers, chiefly from *Idrīsī* and occasionally from *Yāqūt*, *Qazwīnī* and *Dimishqī*. The facts mentioned by them are in the main repetitions from the first group of writers, with additions and such other details as had become current among the writers with the increase of their knowledge of India which began chiefly with the expeditions of *Mahmūd* of *Ghazna* and the subsequent Muslim occupation of Northern India. Somnat is mentioned as another place of pilgrimage for the Hindus and a detailed description of the idol and its worship is given by *Yāqūt* and *Qazwīnī*. However, not a single writer in this group travelled in India.

It may be observed in conclusion that though these accounts may appear at first sight to be a mass of confusion, vague, inadequate and devoid of historical interest, they no doubt supplied for Arabic readers some information on a country about which they knew little, while a modern student possessing a knowledge of Hindu culture will discover germs of truth which throw light on the state of India in the period to which they relate.

In this connection it may be explained that detailed footnotes are inserted where necessary, to elucidate the information and to correct it where advisable.

**CHAPTER II**  
**ETHNOLOGY**



## ETHNOLOGY

*Mas'ūdī* distinguishes the people of Hind from other black nations such as the Zanj<sup>2</sup> and the Damādim<sup>3</sup> and others, as regards intellect, government, philosophy, robust constitution and purity of colour. He mentions that they have various institutions, and has given many sketches of their history and usages in his books *Akhbār-al-zamān* and *Kitāb al-awṣat*.

As regards their personal appearance, *Sulaymān* says that the Chinese are more beautiful than the people of Hind, and are more like the Arabs in their dress and mode of riding. The Chinese, in their public ceremony, are like the Arabs.

### *Language :*

*Mas'ūdī* alone gives precise details as to language. He says that the language of Sind is different from that of Hind.....The inhabitants of Mānkīr, which is the residence of the Balharā, speak the Kīriyya (Kanarese ?) language which derives its name from the place Karah<sup>4</sup> where it is spoken. The Lāriyya<sup>5</sup> language (Lata ?) is spoken in coastal cities such as Saymūr, Sūbāra, and Tāna and in other regions associated with the name of the Lārawī sea, which washes those countries.

2. The name of the negro tribes of the east coast of Africa, given by the Arab historians to the rebel slaves who, having previously rebelled in 75 A.H. (694 A.D.) for fifteen years terrorised lower Mesopotamia. See Encyclopaedia of Islam, Vol. IV, p. 1213.

3. مَارْبَي Barbier, p. 163.

4. سَرْبَرْ سَرْ بَرْ Barbier, p. 381. Sprenger does not mention this name.

See p. 388.

5. سَرْ بَرْ Barbier, p. 381.

**Dress, Ornaments:**

There are a few particulars to be gathered as to the dress and ornaments of the people.

*Sulaymān* says that the people of Hind wear two *fūṭa*.<sup>6</sup> Both men and women wear bracelets of gold and jewels.

*Ibnul Faqīh* : The people of Hind wear two ear rings ; gold bracelets are worn by men and women.

6. "Fūṭa **فُوطَة**, sing. of **فُوطَاتٍ** which signifies cloths that are brought from Es-Sind, thick or coarse, and short, used as waist-wrappers. Az. says 'I have not heard this word in aught of the language of the Arabs, and I know not whether it be an Arabic word or of the language of the foreigners, but I have seen in El-Koofeh striped waist-wrappers, which are sold, and are bought by the camel drivers and the Arabs of the desert and the servants and the people of the lowest sort, who use them as waist-wrappers and call them thus'."

IDrd. says that it is not an Arabic word : "it is added in K. or it is a word of the language of Es-Sind, arabicized from **فُوطَة**, with a dammeh not fully sounded. Sm. adds : it is called with us in El-Yemen **فُوطَة** and by reason of frequency of usage, they have derived from it the verb **فُوطَّهُ** He clad him or attired him with a **فُوطَة**

The diminutive of **فُوطَة** is **فُوطِيَّة** The plural **فُوطَاتٍ** is also applied to short napkins with striped extremities, woven at El-Mahalleh El-Kubra, in Egypt, which a man puts upon his knees to preserve himself from being soiled at meals, and with which he wipes his hands after washing.". See Lane sub. voc.

R. It is from the Hindi word **फैन्ट**, *phaint* waist-band, belt, fob, the waist, (when belted) *phaint bāndhna* to gird up the loins. **फैन्ट**, *phaintā*, a waist-band (without a fringe) a small turban. *Platts, Hindustani Dictionary,*

*Beard :*

As regards their personal appearance, *Sulaymān* relates that the people of Hind wear a long beard.<sup>7</sup> Sometimes, he comments, "I have seen some with a beard three cubits in length.<sup>8</sup> They do not cut their moustaches."

*Ibnul Faqīh* has the same information but he does not speak of moustaches.

*Character :*

*Idrīsī* has stated that the Indians are naturally inclined to justice, and never depart from it in their actions. Their good faith, honesty, and fidelity to their engagements are well-known, and they are so renowned for these qualities that people flock to their country from every side. Hence the country is flourishing and the condition of the people is prosperous. Among other typical instances of their love of truth and horror of vice, the following is related :

When a man has a right to demand anything of another, and he happens to meet him, he has only to draw a circular line upon the ground, and make his debtor enter it, which the latter never fails to do, and the debtor cannot leave this circle without satisfying his creditor or obtaining the remission of the debt.<sup>9</sup>

7. The Hindus grow beards on the death of a near relation. This custom is especially prevalent among the people on the West Coast. Cf. with the account of *Zayn al-Dīn-al-Ma'bāri* 985 (1577 A.D.) given in *Rowlandson's Translation of Tuhfat-al-Mujāhidīn*, p. 62.

"Brahmans may not shave for six months after marriage, for a year after the death of a parent, and till the birth of the child when their wives are pregnant." E. Thurston, *Ethnographic notes on Southern India*, p. 3.

"Men may not shave the face and wear a beard until their marriage." *Ibid.*, p. 7.

R. Sometimes the Hindus grow a beard to propitiate the Deity.

8. Only Sanyāsīs grow long beards, as described by *Sulaymān*.

9. Compare the following account in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. VIII, p. 267 :

*Qazwīnī* mentions that the people of Hind are infidels and value their life and wealth.

*Cleanliness :*

*Sulaymān* complains that neither the people of Hind nor those in China bathe when they suffer from ceremonial pollution. The Chinese do not clean with water after calls of nature but wipe with paper. The people of Hind bathe early in the morning every day and then eat. They do not touch their women when the custom is upon them but shun them, keeping them out of doors.<sup>10</sup> But the Chinese have commerce with them and do not keep them out of doors. The people of Hind clean their teeth ; they will not eat anything before cleaning their teeth and taking a bath. The Chinese do not do so.

*Ibnul Faqīh* repeats some of these facts<sup>11</sup> and makes an additional remark to the effect that the customs of the Chinese are like those of the Mages.

"The custom on the Malabar coast, when summary payment was demanded of a debtor, was to draw a circle round him with a green branch, and imprecate on him the name of a particular divinity whose curse was to fall upon him if he left the circle before satisfying the claim of his creditor".

R. Many writers have noticed the prevalence of this custom and marvelled at the strictness of the arrest.

This custom has disappeared now.

10. All Hindu women take the ceremonial bath after the courses have ceased ; but the custom of 'keeping out of doors' is strictly observed even today by the community of the Brahmans of South India. The expression "keeping out of doors" means : the woman, when menstruating, takes up her residence in a room generally outside the main entrance to the house ; food and drink will be supplied to her from time to time in separate dishes that will not be touched by other members of the house.

See Hopkins, *The Ordinances of Manu*, Lect. IV, 40, 41, 42.

11. *Ibnul Faqīh* does not notice the custom of keeping women out of doors and of cleaning with paper.

*Manners :*

In eating and drinking, husbandry, dressing and in the art of healing, *Mas'ūdī* relates that the Hindu and the Chinese nations have their own notions. .

*Slaughtering of Animals :*

We learn from *Sulaymān* that the Chinese and the people of Hind do not slaughter<sup>12</sup> an animal of whose flesh they intend to eat, as Muslims do, but strike at the top of its head till it dies.

*Ibnul Faqīh* follows *Sulaymān* in making this assertion, but adds a slight variation in saying that the people of Hind kill what they want to eat.<sup>13</sup>

12. *Dhabah* ζ. ; the act of cutting the throat. In the language of the law, it denotes the act of slaying an animal according to the prescribed forms, without which its flesh is not lawful as food for a Muslim.

See Sūra II, Verses 172-173. The injunctions in the Traditions are more explicit; "May God curse those who slay without repeating the name of God, in the same manner as the polytheists did in the names of their idols...."

According to Sunnī law *Dhabah* is of two kinds (i) *Ikhtiyārī* of choice and (ii) *Iztirārī* of necessity. The first is effected by cutting the throat above the breast and reciting the words *Bismillāhi Allāhu-Akbar*, "In the name of Allāh, Allāh is most Great," and the second by reciting these words upon shooting an arrow or discharging a gun. The latter act, however, is merely a substitute for the former and accordingly is not of any account unless the former be impracticable. It is absolutely necessary that the person who slays the animal should be a Muslim or a *kitābī* (a Jew or a Christian) and that he should do it in the name of God alone.

13. It is a very sweeping remark, and not entirely correct, for certain animals are slaughtered even by Brahmins, but only for purposes of sacrifice.

**Food, Manner of eating :**

Concerning the food eaten in this country, *Sulaymān* declares that the people of Hind eat rice<sup>14</sup> while the Chinese eat wheat and rice. The people of Hind do not eat wheat.

*Ibnul Faqīh* says definitely that the people of Hind do not eat wheat, but rice only.

*Idrīsī* remarks that the inhabitants of Nahrwārah<sup>15</sup> live upon rice, peas, beans, haricots, lentils, *māsh*, fish and animals that have died a natural death, for they never kill winged or other animals.

*Abū Zayd* mentions that there are some among the people of Hind who never eat out of the same dish or upon the same table and would deem it a very great sin if they did. When they come to Sirāf and a prominent merchant invites them,—they may be a hundred more or less—they must have each a separate dish, entirely apart from the rest.<sup>16</sup>

**Drink :**

There are several authors who have commented on the restraint practised by the people of Hind in the matter of consuming intoxicants.

14. It is clear from the account of *Sulaymān* and *Ibnul Faqīh* that they are speaking of South Indians only.

15. For an account of Nahrwārah see Elliot—*Idrīsī*, Vol. I, pp. 87-88.

16. The practice of eating in seclusion is common to all the Hindus ; it is rigidly observed by the South Indian Hindus even to-day. A member of one caste or sub-caste never mixes with any one other than of his own caste at the time of eating. As a rule the Hindus are not accustomed to have a common dish out of which each may serve himself according to his need ; the Hindus believe that the common dish becomes polluted if touched by a person in the act of eating. So each must have a separate receptacle, generally a plantain leaf, in which all the items of food are served simultaneously with rice as the chief item. A person in possession of reserve food will, from time to time, supply the needs of the various individuals.

*Sulaymān* declares that the people of Hind do not drink wine<sup>17</sup> or vinegar<sup>18</sup> which according to them is in the category of drinks. Their abstinence is not due to any religious injunction<sup>19</sup> but on account of their scorn for it. They say, "Whoever among kings drinks wine is not a king, because round about him are kings who are always at war with him." So they say, "How can one administer the affairs of the kingdom if he is not sober?"<sup>20</sup>

*Ibn Khurdādhbeh* also says that the kings and inhabitants of Hind regard drinking as unlawful.

*Ibn Rusta* quotes Abū 'Abdullāh Muḥammad Ibn Ishāq<sup>21</sup> who says: "I found that the merchants of Hind, all of them, do not drink either little or much. They loathe wine; their wine consists of rice water which becomes sour after some days and serves them as wine. The Muslim who is addicted to drink is considered by the people of Hind as vile. They make no account of him and treat him with contempt. They would say: "This man has no credit in his country."

17. شراب A beverage or drink of any of the liquids or of anything that is not chewed or of whatever kind and in whatever state it be....The lawyers and generally the post-classical writers, and sometimes others, mean thereby wine and such beverage as is forbidden. *Lane Arabic Lexicon*.

18. خل Vinegar, i.e., expressed juice of grapes and of dates etc.; that has become acid or sour so-called, because its sweet flavour has become altered for the worse. *Lane's Lexicon*. Lane on the authority of Mṣb. asserts that خل is "a genuine Arabic word". Perhaps there might have been a dispute about its origin. Considering the sense in which *khall* خل is used in Arabic, one is tempted to think that it might have been from the Tamil word (கல்) *kal* the saccharine juice formed in flowers.

19. The statement by Sulaymān and Mas'ūdī to the effect that the abstinence of the Indians from drink is not due to any religious injunction is incorrect as will be seen from Hopkins, *Manu's Ordinance*, p. 154.

20. See Hopkins, *Manu's Ordinance*, p. 154.

21. Ibn Rusta's information on drink, fornication and on the kings of Hind is based upon the narration of Abū 'Abdullāh Muḥammad Ibn Ishāq,

*Mas'ūdī* agrees with Sulaymān in saying that the people of Hind abstain from liquors not in obedience to religious precepts, but because they do not choose to take a thing which overwhelms their reason, and destroys the supremacy which this faculty should exercise over men. If it can be proved of one of their kings that he has drunk wine he forfeits the crown for he is not considered fit to rule and govern the kingdom if he is given to such habits.

*Amusements :*

*Mas'ūdī* mentions that the people of Hind frequently hear songs and musical performances; they have various sorts of musical instruments which produce on men all shades of impressions between laughing and crying. Sometimes they make girls drink in order to excite them to show their mirth so that the beholders may be inspired with gaiety by their merriment.<sup>22</sup>

who seems to have travelled to Hind and visited many courts of kings. No information about this traveller is available from other sources.

R. The accounts of these four writers are more or less to the same effect, though each treats his facts in his own way. The information on drink shows that toddy, the most popular intoxicant in South India to-day, was not known to the Arabs. Manu's book (3rd century A.D.) also does not speak of toddy. The ordinances of Manu speak of three kinds of intoxicating drinks. (See Hopkins, *Manu's Ordinance*, p. 338).

This classification does not include toddy. Hence it may be inferred that the tapping of toddy from cocoanut and palmyra trees might not have been very popular with the people of South India before the tenth century A.D. The absence of the mention of cocoanut trees by these Arab authors on the west coast of India lends support to this view.

See also under *Malibār*.

22. The account of *Mas'ūdī* breathes a personal reminiscence of the narrator. One can visualise *Mas'ūdī* witnessing a musical performance in Kanbāya for he says "I visited Kanbaya in 303 A.H. during the government of Bāniyā who was appointed there by the Balharā, the sovereign of Mānkīr. Barbier—p. 254,

*Sulaymān*, while agreeing that the Chinese are fond of all kinds of amusements, holds that the people of Hind censure amusements and do not cultivate them.

*Marriage :*

Concerning marriage and marital customs, *Sulaymān* relates that in China and Hind when people desire to marry, they congratulate each other, bring presents and then celebrate the marriage by beating cymbals and drums. Their presents consist of money according to the ability of the parties.<sup>23</sup>

*Polygamy :*

*Sulaymān* reports that the people of China and Hind are not monogamist.<sup>24</sup> They marry as many women as they desire.

*Fornication :*

*Ibn Khurdādhbeh* mentions that the kings and inhabitants of Hind find fornication<sup>25</sup> lawful, but not in the kingdom of Qumār.<sup>26</sup>

23. For an account of the Brahman marriage ceremony, see E. Thurston, *Ethnographic Notes*. After an elaborate marriage ceremony, festivities and minor ceremonies are kept up for five days, details differing with different sects of the Brahman community.

The above description applies only to the civilised societies of South India.

The Nambūdīri Brahmins in Malabar have different marriage rites.

24. As a rule the Hindus are not polygamists. It is true that under special circumstances it is permitted for them to take a second wife whilst the first is still living. In cases where seven years after marriage no son is born, the Laws permit a man to take a second wife, because a son is regarded as necessary to perform the funeral rites for his father, and not for his father only—for three previous generations the happiness of his ancestors is imperilled by the neglect of these ceremonies. In these cases the new bride comes to her husband's home.

\* W. J. Wilkins, *Modern Hinduism*, p. 179.

25. ८३।

26. See under the kingdom of Qumār, pp. 174-175 in this book.

*Ibnul Faqīh* and *Ibn Rusta* give the same information though the latter makes his statements on the authority of Abū 'Abdullāh Muḥammad Ibn Ishāq.

*Qazwīnī* merely states that fornication is lawful among the Hindus.

*Idrīsī* agrees that in the country of the Balharā, fornication<sup>27</sup> is permitted with all persons except married women. Thus a man may, if he desires, marry his daughter, his sister, or his aunts, provided they be unmarried.<sup>28</sup>

#### *Circumcision :*

*Sulaymān* complains that the people of Hind and China do not perform the rite of circumcision.

27. Elliot translates ٤٣١ as concubinage which is incorrect. Elliot, Vol. 1, p. 89.

28. This is a supreme instance of Idrīsī's carelessness in not inquiring into the truth of statements made by his informants or questioning the sources of such information as he found in any work of his predecessor. Such statements are quite untrue with regard to any period of Indian History. The information of Idrīsī is his own and cannot be traced to any writer either before or after him.

The statement of these writers that fornication is lawful among the Hindus is not correct.

Perhaps the Arabs did not fully understand the various forms of marriages which the Hindu law takes cognizance of.

"20. Learn summarily these eight (ways of) marriage with women of the four castes, (which are) good and bad here and in a future existence."

"21. These are the Brāhma, the Daiva, the Ārṣa, the Prājāpatya, the Asura, the Gāndharva and also the Rākṣasa; the Paiśāca, the eighth is the lowest."

For details, see Hopkins, *Manu's Ordinance*, Lect. III.

R. The intention seems to have been in essence that of the canon law, viz., that a contract followed by a cohabitation is what constitutes a marriage, here the contract being expressed or implied. Some of these forms of marriage do appear unlawful from a Muslim's point of view, hence the sweeping statements of these writers.

*Burning the dead :*

*Sulaymān* has said that all the people of Hind burn their dead bodies.<sup>29</sup>

*Abū Zayd* and *Idrīsī* give the same information, while the latter adds that the Hindus do not raise tombs<sup>30</sup> for the dead.

*Conventions observed on the death of a relative :*

*Sulaymān* relates that the people of Hind shave off their beard and the hair upon the death of a relative.<sup>31</sup>

*Ibnul Faqīh* repeats *Sulaymān*'s information and also observes that the people of Hind cling to their duties by abstaining continuously from food and drink for seven days.<sup>32</sup>

29. The object of a Hindu funeral is the investiture of the departed spirit with an intermediate gross body interposed, as it were, parenthetically, between the terrestrial gross body destroyed by the fire and the new terrestrial body which the spirit must assume ultimately. See E. Thurston, *Ethnographic Notes*, pp. 132-33. For details of the ceremony of a Hindu funeral, see W. J. Wilkins, *Modern Hinduism*, p. 457. There are however many castes, such as the Dēvāṅga and Karnabattu in South India who usually bury their dead in a sitting attitude, a practice which, according to Lord Avebury, in *Prehistoric Times* is a survival from neolithic times.

30. It is not the general custom among the Hindus to erect tombs for the dead, but communities like the Dēvāṅgas erect in some places a hut of milk hedge (*Euphorbia Tirucalli*) branches over the graves. For details see E. Thurston, *Ethnographic Notes*, p. 137.

31. There are some communities in South India which observe this custom even to-day.

32. The relatives to the sixth degree ought to fast three days and nights, or at least one day; the near relatives must observe a partial fast as long as the days of mourning continue, i.e., until the thirtieth day after death occurred. W. J. Wilkins, *Modern Hinduism*, p. 460.

*Veneration of Oxen :*

Idrīsī has said that the people of Hind have a great veneration for oxen<sup>33</sup> and in accordance with a privilege enjoyed only by these beasts, they inter them after death. When they are enfeebled by age, and are unable to work, the animals are freed from all labour and provided with food.

*Ibn Rusta* gives further details that in the whole of India, generally the man who kills a cow is punished with death.<sup>34</sup>

*Succession of families in one and the same profession :*

*Sulaymān* says that there are families of learned men and of physicians. They form a distinct community and their profession never goes out of the family.

*Sacrifice for kings :*

*Abū Zayd* relates that among the kings of Hind are some who observe a special rite upon their accession to the throne. Rice is cooked for the new monarch and is served on a plantain leaf. He invites from among his companions three or four hundred men, and those who are willing, present themselves to the king without any compulsion on his part. After the king has eaten some of the cooked rice, he gives the remainder to those men who approach him one after another and receive from him a small quantity of rice which they eat. It is incumbent upon all those

33. بَقَرٌ is pl. of بَقَرٌ applied to the male and the female, the ♀ being added only to restrict it to unity.

بَقَرٌ the bovine genus; the ox or bull and cow; and oxen, or bulls, and cows; neat.

The veneration for the cow is based upon the ordinances of Manu, see Hopkins, *op. cit.*, p. 335.

34. Cow-killing is still a penal offence in the Cochin State, South India.

who partake of this to burn themselves to the last man when the king dies or is slain. They never delay in doing so ; they throw themselves into the fire and are burnt till nothing remains of them, no substance nor any mark about them. When a man resolves to burn himself he goes to the king's palace and seeks permission. Then he goes round the market places to the spot where fire is prepared for him by great heaps of wood. Round about this pile there are men kindling the fire till the fire becomes one molten mass. Then the man rushes along, preceded by a number of cymbal-beaters and surrounded by his family and relatives. Some of these people place on his head a crown made of some aromatic plant which they fill with burning coal. They pour upon him sandarac which catches fire as naphtha. All this time he continues walking though the top of his head is burning, and the burnt flesh diffuses its odour. He does not show any change in his gait nor exhibit any sign of pain till he reaches the pile, throws himself into it and is turned into ashes. Some who were present on such an occasion relate that the person who intended to burn himself, as he approached the fire, took out a dagger, ripped up his belly from the breast to the pubes, thrust his left hand into it, seized the liver and drew out a part of it, talking all the while. With the dagger he cut a piece of it and delivered it up to his brother, thus displaying a contempt for death and endurance under pain. Then he jumped into the fire to join the accursed in hell.

R. Seeing that Abū Zayd deals with kings on the west coast it is possible that this sacrifice may refer to a festival which used to be held every twelfth year at the Tirunāvāyi temple in the Ponnani taluk, although it has been discontinued for the past one hundred and fifty years. This festival was called the Māmakham or Mahāmakham which means literally *big sacrifice*. It was a festival instituted, according to tradition, by one of the Perumal emperors prior to the Kollam era and was celebrated by them. After the departure of the last Perumal emperor to Makka, the duty of celebrating this festival devolved on the local rājas until the rise to power of the Zamorins who later presided over the festival as suzerains of all Keralam. For further details of the festival, refer Logan, *Malabar Manual*, Vol. I, pp. 163-168.

**Conversion to Islam :**

*Sulaymān* : I have never known anyone in either Hind or China who has embraced Islam<sup>35</sup> or any one who could speak Arabic.

**Muslims :**

*Idrīsī* says that in all the countries of Hind and Sind, there are Muslims who bury their dead secretly by night, but, unlike the Hindus, they do not give way to long lamentations.<sup>36</sup>

Regarding the relations between Muslims and Hindus, *Idrīsī* says that the town of Nahrwārah is frequented by large numbers of Muslim traders who go there on business. They are honourably treated by the king and his ministers, and find protection and safety.

35. The statement of Sulaymān is cited by Logan (*Malabar Manual*, Vol. I, p. 191) in support of his argument that Islam was not introduced into Malabar till 200 years after the Hijra. Logan also rejects Rowlandson's view, mentioned in a footnote to *Tuhfat-al-Mujāhidin* (p. 5) that the Arab emigrants, during the time of Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf (714 A.D.) Governor of Basra, established themselves in Malabar. But this view is supported by Burhān ibn Ḥasan, (author of *Tūzak-i-Wālājāhī* in Persian, English translation by S. M. H. Nainar, p. 65) who makes the following statement which goes to confirm Rowlandson's view. "The Nawāyaṭ emigrated from their native home owing to the tyranny of Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf and reached the coast of Hind by sea. They settled in the region of Konkan in the territory of the Mahratas."

However, it will suffice to say here that it will not be useful to establish any theory on the strength of Sulaymān's statement, for the exact date and the name of the narrator of this remark in the account of Sulaymān are not known to us so far. (See Introduction to Chapter I).

36. These refer to the death songs sung over the bodies of dead relatives by most castes in Southern India, including the Brahmins. They are taught to children and are sung by female relatives and friends to the accompaniment of beating of the breasts and tearing of the hair, not only immediately after the death of a person, but also once a fortnight or more frequently until the first annual ceremony is performed. See E. Thurston, *Ethnographic Notes*, pp. 227-228.

**Poets :**

*Abū Zayd* is alone in calling attention to the existence of poets in India who wait upon kings.

**Justice :**

*Sulaymān*, in speaking of the administration of justice, relates that the Chinese have judges besides governors, and that the same can be said with regard to the people of Hind.<sup>37</sup>

*Ibn Rusta* declares that the king of Qumār had eighty judges in his service. They meted out justice even if the accused were to be the son of the king, making him stand in the place set apart for persons guilty of crime.

**Trial by red-hot Iron :**

*Sulaymān* writes at considerable length concerning the different forms of trial practised in India. In the cities of Hind, he relates, when one man accuses another of a crime punishable with death, the accused is asked whether he is prepared to go through a trial by fire. He would say, 'yes'. Then they heat a piece of iron till it becomes red-hot and ask him to stretch out his hand, on which they place seven leaves<sup>38</sup> of a tree found in their country and then stand the red-hot iron over these leaves. The accused then walks backwards and forwards and throws off the iron from his hand. Then he is given a leather bag into which he puts his hand. After that it is sealed with the seal of the king. Three days pass

37. Although in early Vedic days the administration of justice in India was centralised and rested solely in the hands of the reigning monarch, as the size of the kingdom extended and the functions of a judiciary grew in scope and extent, the task was entrusted to experts in law, who were invariably recruited from the Brahman community. Although it appears that there were no regular courts of justice in the classical and pre-classical periods of Hindu India, traces of permanent institutions for the administration of justice are to be found in the *Dharma-śāstra* and the *Arthaśāstra* treatises. See V. R. R. Dikshitar, *Hindu Administrative Institutions*, p. 227.

38. Perhaps this may refer to betel leaves.

and then the accused is given raw paddy and is asked to remove the husk with his hand. If there is no mark in his hand, he has proved his innocence and he will not be executed. Then his accuser is sentenced to pay a *mann* of gold which would be appropriated by the king.

*Ibn Rusta's* account of this ceremony differs slightly in details. He says that the ordeal by fire is prevalent in the cities of the Mahrāj<sup>39</sup> and also in the city of Hind named Fanṣūr. When one man accuses another on a charge of debt, adultery or theft punishable with death, the accused may choose the trial by fire. He must then appear before the king who orders a piece of iron weighing one pound<sup>40</sup> or more to be heated. They get leaves which resemble those of a *ghār*<sup>41</sup> in thickness and seven of them are put on his hand one above the other. Then the red-hot iron is put on top of them by means of tongs. In that condition he walks backwards and forwards for about one hundred steps. If his hand and the leaves on it are burnt, his guilt is proved ; he will then be condemned either to death or to paying a fine as the case may be. If he is unable to pay the fine, he becomes the slave of the king who can sell him. If however the fire does not burn, the accuser is told, "Your charge is false, your adversary has taken the fire." Then he is held guilty of the charge he had made.

#### *Trial by scalding water :*

Another method of trial which *Sulaymān* describes is the trial by scalding water. Sometimes they boil water in an iron or copper pot until it is so hot that no one can approach it. Then they

39. The king of the city of Zābaj (Java) is known as the Mahrāj. He is the sovereign over many islands, the extent of his kingdom being one thousand parasangs or more. The island Zābaj where he lives is exceedingly fertile and the buildings there are set in order. Abū Zayd, p. 89.

40. *جب* a pound.

41. *لِل* —Laurel tree.

throw an iron ring into it. The accused is asked to put his arm in and bring out the ring. "I saw one man," he writes, "survive this ordeal successfully, without sustaining any hurt." In this case also the accuser was directed to pay<sup>42</sup> a *mann*<sup>43</sup> of gold.

*Punishment for theft :*

Theft, whether considerable or inconsiderable, *Sulaymān* has written, is always punished with death, both in China and Hind. In Hind especially, if a man steals a farthing<sup>44</sup> or anything more, a long piece of wood is taken, sharpened to a point, and applied to his fundament and thrust up until it comes out of his neck.<sup>45</sup>

42. No information is given about the person to whom the money is paid.

43. *Mann* مان (Greek word, weight of two rothls).

Maund, a standard weight,—8 viss —40 seers, —25 lbs, varying in different localities.

R. Trials by ordeal were and still are very common, although some forms of them have necessarily disappeared. The Tellichery Factory Diary (6th May, 1728) records that a dispute between the Honorable East India Company and certain people over the value of articles agreed to be supplied for money received, was to be settled by the ordeal of trial by oil. For details see Logan, *Malabar Manual*, Vol. I, p. 173.

44. ملمس ح ملوس و انس (Greek). Farthing, small copper coin.

Plural used for money in general.

45. Compare Ibn Battūta: "I have never seen a safer road than this, for they put to death anyone who steals a single nut, and if any fruit falls no one picks it up but the owner. Trans. by H. A. R. Gibb, p. 232.

R. Theft of gold was considered as one of the five great sins, the other four being murder of a Brahman, drinking, disobeying a teacher's rules and cow-killing.

Thieves were cleft in two and exposed to vultures, but impaling alive was not unknown even as late as 1795. Sometimes criminals were wrapped in green palm leaves and torn asunder, probably by elephants.

See Logan, *Malabar Manual*, Vol. I, p. 173.

*Punishment for Fornication :*

If a man procures a woman and she serves as a prostitute, Sulaymān relates, both the man and the woman are put to death throughout the land of Hind. But if a man commits fornication with a woman, forcing her against her will, then the man alone is put to death; and if he sins with a woman with her consent, both are put to death.<sup>46</sup>

*Punishment for Adultery :*

*Ibn Rusta* : Adultery is not lawful with all kings of Hind. They put to death<sup>47</sup> both the adulterers.

*Punishment for Drinking :*

*Ibn Rusta* has related on the authority of some travellers, that the punishment prescribed by the king of Qumār for his attendants and soldiers in case of their drinking is that one hundred red hot iron rings<sup>48</sup> are put on the arm of the drinker who often dies.\*

46. The statement of Sulaymān is not quite correct. The punishment for such offences varies from the infliction of fines to mutilation and death, the latter insisted upon only in extreme cases. It is also noteworthy that a Brahman is never sentenced to capital punishment for such offences.

*Manu's ordinances* prescribe various forms of punishment for this offence. Compare Nālaḍiyār :

“ காணிற் குடப்பழியாம் கையுறிற் கால்குறையும் ” (நாலடி. 84.)

In case of adultery the offender's legs would be cut off.

47. The Hindu Law prescribes various kinds of punishment for adultery. See Hopkins, *Manu's Ordinance*, 373-379, Lecture VIII.

48. These refer to குட்டக்கோல் śūṭuk-kōl or குலக்குறு ஸ்ரூக்குராடு, an iron instrument for branding. In Arabic, Halqa خلق signifies a brand upon camels of a round form, like the halqa (or ring) of a door.

\* Qazwini gives more or less the same information quoting Ibnul-Faqih, but De Goeje's version of Ibnul-Faqih has no such account.

He is a sovereign with great zeal ; there is no king more zealous and severe in giving punishment than him. His punishments include the cutting off of two hands, two feet, the nose, two lips and two ears, and he never resorts to pecuniary punishment, as do other kings of Hind.

### **Treatment of Prisoners:**

*Sulaymān* says that whenever anyone is put into prison, or under arrest, he is given neither food nor drink for seven days.<sup>49</sup>

### *Sciences, Medicine :*

We learn from *Sulaymān* that medicine and philosophy are cultivated in Hind. The Chinese, too, have knowledge of medicine, but most of it is cauterization. They have also knowledge of astronomy, but in Hind it is more common.

*Ibnul Faqih* simply states that the people of Hind are physicians, philosophers and astrologers.

*Mas'ūdī* follows Sulaymān in testifying to the reliance on cauterization in the art of healing.

## Occult Sciences:

With regard to the practice of occult sciences, *Ibn Khur-dādhbeh* says that the people of Hind believe that they can realise what they wish by their enchantments ; by them they make a man drink poison and then take it out of him. By the power of thought they bind or unbind, and hurt or benefit. They conjure up delusions to the bewilderment of even intelligent men. They claim that they can stop rain and cold.

*Ibnul Faqih* also records that the people of Hind have knowledge of sorcery.

49. The following sentence in the text (p. 55) seems to be ambiguous. Reinaud translates it thus: "The Indians can arrest each other."

*Abū Zayd* goes into greater details. There are astrologers,<sup>50</sup> philosophers, diviners and those who draw auguries from the flight of birds. There are magicians and others who create marvellous illusions,<sup>51</sup> especially in Qannawj, a big city in the kingdom of *al-Jawz*.<sup>52</sup>

*People of Hind seeking the assemblies of learned men in Sarandib :*

*Abū Zayd* tells us that in the island of Sarandib, (Ceylon), there are assemblies of learned men which can be compared with the assemblies of learned traditionists. The people of Hind repair to these assemblies.<sup>53</sup> They write down from them the lives of their Prophets and the laws of their religion. There is a huge idol of pure gold, whose exact weight is exaggerated by the sailors. Great sums of money have been spent on the temples there.

*Chinese view of the people of Hind :*

As we have seen, *Sulaymān* writes that the Chinese have no science, and he further suggests that their religion was derived

50. The services of the astrologer are still considered of supreme importance. His advice is sought on innumerable occasions in daily life and he is, of course, indispensable for such important occasions as births, tonsures, investiture with the sacred thread, marriages, and such other happenings.

51. Even to the present day, the power of enchantments and spells is believed in implicitly by the lower classes, especially in Malabar. See Logan, *Malabar Manual*, Vol. I, p. 174.

52. ... فِي مَالَةِ الْجَزْرِ قَنْجَ

53. This may refer to the assemblies of learned Buddhists in Ceylon. After Buddhism was ousted from India, the Indian Buddhists might have made journeys to Ceylon to learn more about their religion.

from Hind. The Chinese, he states, believe that the people of Hind erected idols for them, and regard them as a people of religion.<sup>54</sup>

*Pilgrimage :*

There is a wealth of detail concerning Multan and the pilgrimages undertaken to visit this city. *Mas'ūdī* writes that there is a celebrated idol at Multan. The inhabitants of Sind and Hind make pilgrimage to that city by thousands from the most distant places. They carry there money, precious stones, aloes and many sorts of perfumes, in order to fulfil their vows.

*Abū Zayd*: There is a famous idol at Multan which is not far from Mansūra. The people from remote parts even from a distance of several months, make a pilgrimage to that idol.

*Abul Faraj*<sup>55</sup> is content to mention that the people of Hind from distant parts go on a pilgrimage to the temple at Multan, travelling by land and sea.

*Idrīsī* writes that Multan is very near Hind and that some authors place it in that country. It equals Mansūra in size and is called "the house of gold." There is an idol there, which is highly venerated by the people of Hind who go on pilgrimages to it from the most distant parts of the country and make offerings of valuables, ornaments and the finest qualities of perfumes.

From *Yāqūt* we learn that Somnat is the biggest temple in the whole of Hind. It is to them what Makka is to the Muslims.

*Qazwīnī* records that the people of Hind used to go on a pilgrimage to Somnat whenever there was an eclipse of the moon, and would then assemble there in gatherings numbering more than a hundred thousand.

54. This is probably a reference to the spread of Buddhism from India to China.

55. He also gives a detailed description of the temple at Multan and its wealth.

*Dimishqī* alone mentions that *Wajrām-al-Dhabab*<sup>56</sup> is the temple in *Karūrā*<sup>57</sup> to which the people of Hind make pilgrimages. Sometimes they travel a distance of a year's journey, practising various kinds of devotion. Some crawl on their knees from their homes, until they reach this temple ; others prostrate themselves on the earth and then arise, repeating this act of devotion until they reach their destination, or die on the road. Sometimes a pilgrim plaits his hair in corded wool and cotton, dips it in oil and grease and grasps a dagger in his right hand. Then he goes to the temple, followed by friends and relatives, and priests who escort him to the fire. As he approaches it, he takes fire in his hand and sets light to his horns. Then he puts out his hand to the skin of his belly and cuts it six times with the dagger, up to the liver, pulls it out, cuts of it a piece which he gives to his nearest friend. Then he throws himself into the fire which consumes him. When he has been reduced to ashes they take them, sprinkle them on the river *Ganges* or put them in water from the river *Ganges* and sprinkle them on their bodies. In this way they get a blessing.

56. The principal temple in *Karūr* is the one devoted to *Śiva* in the form of *Pasupatiśvarasvāmi*, a considerable edifice of some antiquity, which has recently been renovated, and which contains numerous stone inscriptions, among which are nine *Cōla* grants. Even to-day it is visited by pilgrims.

57. See under *Karūrā*, page 44 in this book.

R. Pilgrimage is the peculiar work of those who have given themselves up to a life of religion. Some among the highest class of *Brahmans* are renowned for their devotion in wandering from shrine to shrine ; according to Brahmanical ideals, one quarter of a person's manhood should be spent in pilgrimage but the life of millions is devoted solely to this. Such persons are revered as the most holy of men. The visiting of shrines, however, is by no means peculiar to those classes who have adopted the religious life. It is the ambition of many ordinary people and their earnest desire is to visit at least one of these sacred places during their life time. See W. J. Wilkins, *Modern Hinduism*.

## PEOPLE OF HIND

## Dēvadāsī :

In Hind, as we learn from *Abū Zayd*, there are public women, known as the *women of the idol*.<sup>58</sup> The reason is a woman takes a vow that if she were to get a child, she would consecrate that child to God's service. Then, if she bears a beautiful female child, she brings the child to the temple and consecrates it to the deity. Then in later years, she selects a house for the child in the market place, hangs down a curtain before the house and seats her in a chair to await the passing of those people of Hind and others, to whom debauchery is not a sin. She sells herself at a fixed sum. Whenever a certain amount is collected she delivers it to the priests of the idol to be spent for the upkeep of the temple.

58. قَبَابُ الْبَدْرِ

قَبَابُ      Attacked by coughing; applied in this sense to an old man.      Applied to a woman who coughs much and is extremely aged or old and infirm. It also signifies a prostitute or fornicatress, because the prostitute used to give permission to those who desired her by coughing; according to some, it is post-classical, but Ibn-Hilāl says that it is a proper (not a tropical) appellation for the woman who makes gain by prostitution. Lane, *Arabic Lexicon*.

R. Reference to *Castes and tribes of Southern India* (E. Thurston Vol. II, pp. 125-126) shows that *Abū Zayd*'s information is correct so far as it goes. In old Hindu works, 7 classes of *Dāsīs* are mentioned. 1. *Dattā*—one who gives herself as a gift to a temple. 2. *Vikritta*—one who sells herself for the same purpose. 3. *Bhrtya*—one who offers herself as a temple servant for the prosperity of her family. 4. *Bhakta*—one who joins a temple out of devotion. 5. *Harita*—one who is enticed away and presented to a temple. 6. *Alankāra*—one who, being well trained in her profession, and profusely decked, is presented to a temple by kings and noblemen. 7. *Rudraganika* or *Gōpika*—one who receives regular wages from a temple and is employed to sing and dance. The profession is not held to-day in the consideration it once enjoyed, although the *dēva-dāsīs* form a regular caste, and with their allies the *mēlakkārāns* (professional pipers) are now practically the sole repository of Indian music, which system is probably one of the oldest in the world.

**Mountaineers :**

The same narrator,<sup>59</sup> *Abū Zayd* informs us, says that there is a community in the mountainous tracts of the country who seek after useless and foolish things just like the Kanifiyyas and the Jalidiyyas in our parts.<sup>60</sup> There is rivalry between them and those who live on the coast, who visit these mountains and invite the people there to imitate them. The mountaineers also do the same.

Once a mountaineer came down with this purpose to the people on the coast. A crowd collected round him, spectators and rivals. He challenged the rivals to do as he did, and if they failed to do so, they should acknowledge his superiority. He sat at the edge of a thicket of reeds, flexible as any cane-like plant.

The root of this is like that of *نَمْو*, or thicker. If the tip of the reed is bent down, it yields till it touches the ground, and if it is let go it resumes its original position.

This visitor from the mountains pulled the top of one of the thick reeds till it was near him, then he bound it strongly to the plait of his hair. Then he took out his dagger, which was like fire in its quickness and said to them: "I am going to cut off my head with this dagger. When it is separated from my body, let it go at once. I shall laugh when it returns with my head to its position and you will hear repeated chuckles." The people of the coast could not do this. This was told by one whom we cannot distrust. It is well known in these days, as these towns of Hind are near the towns of Arabia and information is reaching them every time.<sup>61</sup>

59. The name of the narrator is not mentioned.

60. *كنيفية و جلدية* "I can find nothing about the two sects of which the author speaks."

*Relation des voyages*, M. Reinaud, p. 54. Notes.

61. The account is, perhaps, a description of jugglery practised by Dāsaris, Jōgis, Tōttiyans and others. For details about these classes see E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*.

*Mischief of some people of Hind in Sarandib :*

*Abū Zayd* gives a long account of certain happenings in Sarandib. A man from Hind is reported to have made his way into the market place, carrying with him a thin dagger skilfully designed. He would fight his way to the richest merchant he could, and take hold of his neck, brandish the dagger over him and drive him out of the city from the crowd of men who would never devise any plan to help a merchant, for if any attempt was made to rescue him, he would slay the merchant and make away with himself.

Once outside the city, the merchant is asked to pay a price for freeing himself. The merchant is followed by a man who frees him by paying the ransom. This practice continued for a long time till a king arose who gave order to seize such men from Hind, who did this in whatever condition. It was done so, but the Indian killed the merchant and then himself. The same happened to many others. Many from among the people of Hind and the Arabs perished. But when punishment was inflicted this stopped and the merchants felt secure.

*Sanyāsīs :*

*Sulaymān* : In the land of Hind there are men who wander in the woods and mountains and rarely associate with men. They eat occasionally dry herbage and fruits obtained in the thickets. Such hermits fix an iron ring round the copulatory organ, so that they may not have commerce with women. Some of them are naked ; some set themselves up, facing the sun, quite naked, save for a piece of tiger's skin. I have seen one in the posture described above. I went away and when I returned after sixteen years, I found him still in the same posture. I wondered how his eyes had not melted by the heat of the sun !

R. A *Sanyāsī* is literally a man who has forsaken all, and who has renounced the world and leads a life of celibacy, devoting himself to religious meditation and abstraction and to the study of holy books. He is considered to have attained a state of exalted piety that places him above most of the restrictions of caste and ceremony.

The majority of the *Sanyāsīs* found, and generally known as such, are a

*Bayrāgis :*

*Abū Zayd* : There is a community in Hind known as Baykar-jiyyin بیکر جیین who are found naked. Their hair covers their body and the private parts. Their nails are very long and like javelins. They never cut them, but they do get broken. They travel from place to place. Every one of them has a string about his neck upon which is hung the skull of a man. When one of these mendicants becomes fatigued by hunger, he stops before the door of any house. The inmates speedily bring him some cooked rice, rejoicing at his arrival. He eats out of the skull and after his appetite is appeased, he departs and never returns for food except during the time of necessity.

class of Śūdra devotees, who live by begging and pretend to powers of divination. They wear garments coloured with red ochre, and allow the hair to grow unshorn. They often have settled abodes, but itinerate. Many are married and their descendants follow the same calling.

R. The name Bairāgi is derived from the Sanskrit, Vairāgya (vi+rāg) denoting without desire or passion, and indicates an ascetic, who has subdued his passions, and liberated himself from worldly desires.

They partake of one meal daily, in the afternoon, and are abstainers from flesh dietary. They live mainly on alms obtained in the *bazaars* and in *choultries*. They are, as a rule, naked except for a small piece of cloth tied round the waist and passed between the thighs. They generally allow the beard to grow, and the hair of the head is long and matted, with sometimes a long tail of yak or human hair tied in a knot on the top of the head. Those who go about nearly naked smear ashes all over their bodies. When engaged in begging, some go through the streets, uttering aloud the name of some god. Others go from house to house, or remain at a particular spot, where people are expected to give them alms.

*Rainfall and life during the rainy season :*

From *Abū Zayd* we learn, on the subject of *yasārat*,<sup>62</sup> which means rain, that in Hind, the rainy season lasts for three months during the summer. The rain pours incessantly night and day. The rains scarcely abate in the winter. The inhabitants prepare victuals before the rainy season sets in, and when it comes on, they shut themselves up in their homes made of wood covered with dry herbage.<sup>63</sup> No one leaves the house unless on some important business. The artisans do their work at home during this season. The soles of their feet often putrify during this season. On these rains depend their livelihoods and if rains fail, the people will be ruined, for they cultivate paddy; they know no other. They have no food but that.

During this season, the crops in the paddy fields lie prostrate on the ground. The people have no need to irrigate or attend to any other agricultural duties. *harāmāt* حِرَامَات signifies paddy fields. When the sky becomes clear, the crops ripen beautifully in the bright days and thrive abundantly. There are no rains in winter.

*Mas'ūdī* gives further information to the effect that it is impossible to sail from 'Umān to the sea of Hind in the *Tirmāh* (June) except with first-rate vessels and light cargoes. In Hind at that time it is winter and the rainy season,<sup>64</sup> for the two *Kānūns* and *Shubāt* (December, January and February) are their summer. Our winter is their summer while the month *Tamūz* (July) and *Ab*

62. The word 'yessare' يَسَارَة appears to be a derivation from the Sanskrit word, *varscha*, meaning rain. Reinaud, p. 55. Notes.

63. The text seems to be faulty.

اتامرا في مناز لهم لأنها متغيرة من خشب مكتننة  
الستروف مقلقة بحشائش لهم

*Abū Zayd*, p. 126.

64. اليسارنة وهي الشتاء Barbier, Vol. I, p. 327.

Compare *Bīrūnī*. India has the tropical rains in summer, which is called *varsakāla*, and these rains are the more copious and last the longer, the

(August) which are summer months with us, are their winter. This applies to all towns of Hind, Sind and the neighbouring countries, through the whole extent of this area.

*Religious Sects :*

*Ibn Khurdādhbeh* writes that there are forty-two sects among the people of Hind. Of these some believe in God and His apostles, some deny the apostles, while others deny everything.

*Idrīsī* bases his information on *Ibn Khurdādhbeh* and gives additional facts. Some, he says, acknowledge the intercessory powers of graven stones,<sup>65</sup> others worship heaps of stones<sup>66</sup> on which they pour butter and oil. Some pay adoration to fire<sup>67</sup> and cast themselves into the flames. Others adore the sun and prostrate themselves to it believing it to be the creator, and dictator of the world. Some worship trees, others pay adoration to serpents which they keep in stables and feed as well as they can, considering them as means of divine favour. Lastly there are some who give

more northward the situation of a province of India is, the less it is intersected by ranges of mountains. Dr. Sachau—*Bīrūnī*, Vol. I, p. 211.

65. لا جهار المعنونة

66. لا جهار المعنونة Elliot, (Vol. I, p. 76) translates it as 'holy stones'. It is not correct. مكتن - كلس - what is collected together, of wheat, etc. heaped up.

R. This may refer to the erection of unhewn stones for worship on the wayside by travellers and in places that are far off from regular temples by people generally of the working class. A deification of some soul which they have in mind is supposed to take place in that stone, and it is made an object of worship.

67. An exogamous sect of the Kurubas and Gollas, and sub-division of the Pallis or Vanniyans. The equivalent Aggi occurs as an exogamous sect of Boya. The Pallis claim to belong to the Agnikula Kṣatriyas, i.e., to the fire race of the Kṣatriyas. See E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*.

R. The statement of *Idrīsī* that they cast themselves into the flames is not correct.

themselves no trouble about any kind of devotion and deny everything.

*Abul Faraj* writes that the people of Hind have no unanimity of opinion concerning their idols. One sect says that the idol is the representation of the creator. Another sect says that it is the representation of His messenger to him. Again they differ on this last point.

Some hold that the prophet is one of the angels; another group says that he is a man. Yet another group says that he is a demon; while another group considers that he is the representation of Būdāsaf<sup>68</sup> who came to them from God.

Each sect has its own special rites for worshipping and exalting the idol. Some whose words may be relied upon have reported that each sect has a representation which they worship and adore. The word *budd* is the generic noun and the idols *بُودِي* are species.

The supreme idol is represented as a man sitting on a throne, without any hair on the face, with a receding chin. He has no garments and he has a smiling appearance. He holds his hand in a position which indicates number thirty-two.

It is heard from reliable men that in each house is found its image<sup>69</sup> made of materials which vary according to the resources of the individual, either in gold, set with precious gems, or in silver, or brass or stone or wood. They worship it as

68. بُودِي, سف This may refer to Śiva who is known as Bhūtapati.

69. These refer to the family idols kept in a room apart, and worshipped morning and evening. They are often objects of exquisite skill and beautiful to behold. A story is told of a Muslim princess of the royal family at Delhi who died broken hearted because she was not allowed to retain the idol which was presented to her to play with after it had been carried off by Malik Kāfür from the temple at Śrirangam and which the Hindus successfully reclaimed.

it faces them, east to west or west to east. Generally the idol is kept with its back to the east, and the worshippers face eastwards. It is related that this image has four faces and it is made with such geometrical precision and skill that in whichever direction they face it, they can see its full face. The front is clearly seen and nothing is invisible. It is said that the idol of Multan is of this kind.

They have an idol called *Mahākāl*.<sup>70</sup> It has four hands, its colour is sky-blue, and its head is covered with hair which is not crisp. Its face has a grinning expression. The stomach is uncovered but the back is covered with the skin of an elephant from which drips blood, and the two feet of the elephant are tied before

70. மஹாகாலி Mahākālī, the exalted goddess Kālī.

R. The impersonation of female energy in the form of Mother Earth appears among the non-Aryan tribes in the cult of the village goddesses (grāmadēvatā) some of whom are purely local or tribal, while others, like Kālī or Māriyammā, though they still retain some local characteristics, have become national deities. Even in the Veda, Pr̥thivi appears as a kindly guardian-deity but with her, by a process of Syncretism, has been associated the non-Aryan Mother-cult.

In its benevolent manifestation the cult of the Earth-goddess is shown in that of the Rajput Gauri, "the brilliant one." In other cognate manifestations, she is known as Sākambhārī, "herb-nourisher," or Āśāpūrana, "she who fulfils desire". Cults of her malignant aspects are specially common in South India. Such is that of Ellammā, "mother of all", whose ritual includes animal sacrifice, and the brutal rite of hook swinging, intended as a mimetic charm to promote vegetation ; the plant springing as the victim rises in the air ; Māriyammā, "plague mother" at whose shrine an officiant known as Potraz "ox king," tears open the throat of a living ram and offers a mouthful of the bleeding flesh to the goddess as in the murderous orgy which was a feature of the Dionysiac ritual ; Piḍāri, the Tamil form of Skr. Viṣāri, "poison-remover" a passionate, irascible goddess with a red hot face and body, and on her head a burning flame ; when drought or murrain prevails, she is propitiated with fire-treading and the sacrifice of a bull ; lambs are slain in the route of her procession and the blood, mixed with wine, is flung into the air to propitiate the powers of evil.

it. In one of its hands there is a big snake opening its mouth, and in the second is a stick ; and in the third is the head of a man, while the fourth is raised. It wears two serpents as ear-rings, two huge serpents twisted round its body, a crown made of skulls on its head and a collar similarly fashioned. They believe that *Mahākāl* is a powerful spirit, deserving worship on account of its great power, and its possession of all the qualities, good, benevolent, bad and adverse, which enable it to give or refuse, or to be kind or wicked.

*Dinikītiya*.<sup>71</sup> These are worshippers of the sun. They have an idol placed upon a cart supported by four horses. There is in the hand of the idol a precious gem<sup>72</sup> of the colour of fire. They believe that the sun is the king of the angels deserving worship and adoration. They prostrate themselves before this idol, walk round it with incense, playing the flute and other musical instruments. There are estates endowed for this idol, and a steady income. It has priests and other employees to look after its temple and estate.

71. دينكية *Abul Faraj.*

Compare دينكية *Nuwayrī*, Part I, p. 49.

R. *Dinikītiya*—*Dinakrit*—sun ; *Dina* (day) + *krit* (he does). *Dinakrit* + *yya* ي the arabic termination to form the *nomina relativa* or relative adjective. Thus the word should have been *Dinakritiyya*, those who are devoted (associated) to the worship of the Sun.

Gustav Flugel on the authority of Reinaud derives it from *Aditi-Bakti*, *adorateurs d'Aditi* (der Sonne). This view is incorrect.

The *Saurapātas* are those who worship *Sūryapati*, the sun god only. There are few of them to be met with nowadays, though at one time they were numerous. They differ but little from the rest of the Hindus in their general observances, although there are certain peculiar practices which they observe.

For further details, see *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*.

72. This refers to *sūryakāntam* ( சூரியகாந்தம் ) a kind of gem, crystal, lens or burning glass ; the sunstone, said to emit fire when placed in the sun's rays. Winslow, *Tamil-English Dictionary*.

There are three services for this idol in a day with different rituals. The sick and lepers and those who suffer from skin disease, palsy and other grave illness, stay there spending their nights. They prostrate themselves, make humble supplications to it and pray for the cure of their illness. They do not eat or drink, but remain fasting. They continue to do so until they see a vision in sleep which says, "You are cured ; you have attained your desire." It is said that the idol speaks to the sick in sleep and that they are cured and restored to good health.<sup>73</sup>

*Jandrihkiniya*.<sup>74</sup> They are the worshippers of the moon. They say that the moon is one of the angels deserving honour and adoration. Their custom is to set up an idol, to represent it, on a cart drawn by four ducks. In the hand of this idol is a gem called

73. This may refer to the Surya Deul or the Sun Temple at Konark. "The vimāna of this great temple," says R. D. Banerjee in his *History of Orissa*, (Vol. II, p. 380), "collapsed sometime between the date of the completion of *A'in-i-Akbari* and the British conquest of Orissa. Even Fergusson saw a portion of it about 120 ft. in height in the second quarter of the 19th century." According to tradition, the great temple of Konark was built by Narasimha I.....This tradition is corroborated by statements to the same effect in the inscriptions of his descendants, Narasimha II and IV. It is said locally that Narasimha I was cured of leprosy and dedicated this temple out of gratitude to the God.

74. جندريہ کنٹیہ Abul Faraj.

Compare ای عباد الفرم جندريہ کنٹیہ Nuwayri, Pt. I, p. 57.

R. Jandrihkiniya—Skr. Chandra+kanti+yya, جندريہ کنٹیہ the arabic termination to form the relative adjective. The original word seems to be *Chandrakāntiyya*, "those who are devoted to the worship of the moon possessed of a bright gem." The word as it stands in the text is a corruption of the original *chandrakāntiyya*.

Flugel again on the same authority derives it from *Chandra* bhakti "adorateurs de Tchandra" which is incorrect. In this connection it may be noticed that in the description of the Sect *Dinikitiya* we read also of a gem of the colour of fire placed in the hand of the idol, though they do not call that gem by any name as they do here, i.e. *jandarkit*.

Jandarkit.<sup>75</sup> Their cult is to prostrate themselves to it and worship it and observe fasting for half the month, not breaking the fast till the moon rises, when they bring food, drink and milk to the idol, pray solemnly, look at the moon and ask what they desire. If it is the beginning of the month, and crescent moon appears, they assemble on the roof, watch the crescent moon, burn incense and pray to it. Then they descend from the roof to eat and drink and rejoice. They do not look at it except with good faces. In the middle of the month, after breaking the fast, they dance and play on musical instruments before the moon and the idol.

*Anshaniyya*<sup>76</sup> are those who abstain from food and drink.

*Bakrantīniya*<sup>77</sup> are those who fetter their bodies with iron. Their practice is to shave off the hair and beard and not to cover their body except for the private parts. It is not their custom to teach or speak with any one apart from those who join their sect.

Worship of the moon in one or other of her aspects either alone or in conjunction with other rites is common in India at the present day, and in all probability such worship has never been interrupted. There are, however, no exclusive votaries or sects who make the moon their chief deity.

The phases of the moon are often decisive for the work of the fields ; and the economy of the household, with its various anniversaries and important events is similarly determined by the moon's position and aspects.

Among the seasonal festivals the moon feast always held a high rank, and even the Buddhists preserved a memory of it in the Uposatha festival, though reduced in that sober organisation to a Sabbath day observance.

For further details see *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*.

75. **چند رکیت** Chandra-kāntam (சந்திரகாந்தம்) a kind of mineral gem, the moon-stone, said to emit moisture when placed in the moonlight, and believed by some to be a congelation of the moon's rays. Winslow, *Tamil-English Dictionary*.

76. *Anaśan* (Skr.) Fasting.

77. **البکر نیمیہ** Abul Faraj.

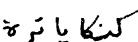
R. Undoubtedly the word Bakrantīniyya seems to have connection with the Tamil *Pakavān* or *Pakavan* (skr. Bhagvān) great persons possessing

They command the followers of their creed to give alms to humble themselves. Those who join the sect are not fettered with iron till they attain a rank which entitles them to do so. The fettering of the body is from the waist as far as the chest, lest the stomach should split, which might happen, they believe, on account of the excessive knowledge they acquire and the force of their meditation.

*Kankāyātra.*<sup>78</sup> The members of this sect are scattered throughout the country of Hind. Their belief is that if a man commits a grave sin, he must travel to the Ganges from far or near, wash in it and thus become clean.

*Rāhmar (n) iyya.*<sup>79</sup> They are supporters of kings. Their cult is rendering assistance to kings. They say "God, exalted be He, made them kings. If we are slain in the service of kings, we reach paradise."

the six attributes of *pakam*, the epithet being used after names of certain gods and r̄ṣis. From this we get the expression (பகவத் பத்தன்) *Pakavarpattan*, one devoted to the deity, being one of the six names given to such as are ripe for emancipation (Winslow). Thus the Arabic word *Bakrantiniyya* may be a corruption of *Pakavrpattan + yya*, the usual Arabic termination added to form the relative adjective.

78.  Abul Faraj.

R. *Gangāyātra*—pilgrimage to the Ganges. According to the Hindus, the Ganges or *Gangā*, as she is called, is a divine wife of Śiva. In the *Rāmāyaṇa*, a story is found which explains her descent from her heavenly home. The same work also explains why the waters of the Ganges are so efficacious that people come from all parts of India once in a lifetime at least, to wash away their sins. There is a fulness in the promise to those who bathe in its flowing waters ; it is that all sin—past, present and future—is by that act at once removed.

There are many works (Prayer to Bhagirathi; *Ganga Bākyabali*) which teach of the benefits which Ganga can confer on mortals. W. G. Wilkins, *Modern Hinduism*.

79.  Abul Faraj.

R. Perhaps this is a corruption of *Rājānumaraniyya*, 'they who perform *Rājānumarana*, death to follow their king's death.'

There is another sect whose practice is to grow long hair, which surrounds their face and covers the head, the hair on all sides being of the same length. These people do not drink wine. They have a hill known as Hawr'an<sup>80</sup> to which they go on a pilgrimage. They have, on this hill, a big temple in which is an image. On their return journey from the pilgrimage, they will not enter inhabited places. If they see any woman they flee from her.

*Qazwīnī* says that there are various sects among the people of Hind. Some believe in the Creator but not in prophets. They are the Brahmans. There are some who believe in neither. There are some who worship idols, some, the moon and some others, fire.

*Castes :*

*Ibn Khurdādhbeh* and *Idrīsī* both mention the Shākhariyya<sup>81</sup> caste.

*Ibn Khurdādhbeh* says that they are the most illustrious caste, and the kings are from among them. All other castes bow down to them, but they bow down to none.

*Idrīsī* gives the same information.

*Ibn Khurdādhbeh*, *Abū Zayd*, and *Idrīsī* mention the Barāhima<sup>82</sup> caste.

80. هُورَعن

R. It may be identified with Haridwar.

81. شَاكْرِيَّة *Ibn Khurdādhbeh*  
شَاكْرِيَّة *Idrīsī*

Sābkufriā, Elliot—*Ibn Khurdādhbeh*, Vol. I, p. 16.

R. Shākhariyya=Sanskrit Satkṣatriya, meaning the true Kṣatriya who claims to be superior to the rest of the Kṣatriya caste. Kings are from this class.

82. الْبَرَاهِمَة *Ibn Khurdādhbeh*, *Abū Zayd*, and *Idrīsī*.

R. This refers to the Brahman caste.

*Sandāliyya* :<sup>93</sup>

*Ibn Khurdādhbeh* explains that they are musicians and singers ; their women are beautiful.<sup>94</sup>

*Idrīsī* gives the same information.

*Dhunbiyya* :<sup>95</sup>

*Ibn Khurdādhbeh* relates that they are pleasant companions for conversation, who provide amusement by jests, music and acrobatics.<sup>96</sup>

93. السَّنْدَلِيَّةُ *Ibn Khurdādhbeh* and *Idrīsī*.

*Sabdāliya* (or *Sandaliya*) *Elliot*,—*Idrīsī*, Vol. I, p. 76.

Compare جَنْدَلٌ *Birūnī*.

94. "The 6th Sandālia, who perform menial offices." *Elliot*—*Ibn Khurdādhbeh*, Vol. I, p. 16.

R. *Candāla*. It is defined as a generic term, meaning one who pollutes, to many low classes. By Manu it was laid down that "the abode of the *Candāla* and *Svapaka* must be out of the town. They must not have the use of entire vessels. Their sole wealth must be dogs and asses. Their clothes must be the mantles of the deceased ; their dishes for food broken pots ; their ornaments rusty iron ; continually must they roam from place to place. Let no man who regards his duty, religious and civil, hold any intercourse with them and let food be given to them in potsherds, but not by the hand of the giver." See *E. Thurston, Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, Vol. II, p. 15.

95. الْكَرِيَّةُ - الْكَرِيَّةُ - الْكَرِيَّةُ *Ibn Khurdādhbeh*. *Idrīsī*.

96. "7th, *Lahūd*, their women are fond of adorning themselves, and the men are fond of amusements and games of skill." *Elliot*—*Ibn Khurdādhbeh*, Vol. I, pp. 16-17.

The text of *Ibn Khurdādhbeh* on p. 71 reads :

وَهُمْ سَمَرَاءِ صَحَابٍ لَهُوَ وَمَعَارِفٌ وَلَعْبٌ

The text of *Idrīsī* :

وَهُمْ أَصْحَابٌ لَهُوَ وَلَعْبٌ وَمَعَارِفٌ وَأَنْزَاعٌ مِنَ الْأَلَاتِ

de Goeje translates *Ibn Khurdādhbeh* : "Les Dhonbyya (Donba) gens

*Idrisi* gives more or less the same information<sup>97</sup>

d'un teint brun, qui sont jongleurs, bateleurs et joueurs de divers instruments," p. 52.

Samār سمار is generally associated with colour while سوس (plural of سوس) with reciters of stories. As the author is silent about the colour of other sects described above, he can hardly be expected to mention the colour of this particular community. Moreover the average Indian is of tawny colour.

de Goeje adds a footnote on this (p. 52) : "Berouny, India, p. 49, l. 10 et 17, nomme la classe infime des Indiens سوس. Il n'est pas douteux que le même nom se trouve sous la forme سوس. dans les *Merveilles de l'Inde*. p. 117, l. 7. Comp. le Gloss. p. 194, et il est vraisemblable que la leçon de Beronuy n'est qu'une corruption de سوس."

97. "Lastly, the Zakya, who are jugglers, tumblers and players of various instruments." Elliot—*Idrisi*, Vol. I, p. 76.

R. The name Domb or Dombo is said to be derived from the word *dumba* meaning devil, in reference to the thieving propensities of the tribe. They are a Dravidian race. They are regarded as a low and polluting class.

The Dombs are the weavers, traders, musicians, beggars and money lenders of the hills. Some own cattle and cultivate. The hill people in the interior are entirely dependent on them for their clothing. As musicians, they play on the drum and pipe.

R. Birūni, however, differs from these writers and maintains that there were sixteen castes, the four well-known ones (Brahma, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya, Sūdra), five semi-untouchables and seven untouchables. His information on the caste system is more detailed and interesting, though it does not bear any direct connection with the Southern India.

The usual theoretical number of the castes is four, but it is rather strange that Greek writers like Megasthenes and Strabo and the Arab authors should concur in saying that their number was seven. The seven castes of the Arab writers are not identical with the seven castes described by the Greek ambassador, Megasthenes. The latter does not enumerate any of the untouchables among his castes, while the former includes two among the depressed classes.

See A. S. Altekar, *The Rashtrakutas and Their Times*, Chap. XIV.

## RELIGIOUS BELIEFS

*Transmigration of Souls :*

*Sulaymān, Ibnu'l Faqīh, Abū Zayd, Maṣ'ūdī* and *Dimishqī* all state that the people of Hind believe in the transmigration of souls.

Abū Zayd gives details on this point. In the kingdom of the Balharā and in other kingdoms of Hind, there are men who burn themselves in fire, because they believe in the transmigration of souls. They have firm belief in this doctrine and never admit of any doubt in it.

When the men and women of Hind become enfeebled by old age and sink under its weight, they request the members of their family to throw them into the fire or to drown them because they firmly believe they will return to some other body.

*Dimishqī* gives more details. The people of Hind, like the sects\* al-Naṣīriyya, al-Qarāmīṭa, al-Ilhādiyya, and al-Ismā'īliyya believe in the transmigration of souls. They believe that in this life, the souls are in a narrow prison, and they think that after death, the souls will enter bodies and grow as they did in the previous birth and attain a greater degree of happiness. Hence they look upon death as life.

*Sulaymān* declares that both the people of China and Hind believe that their idols speak to them; but it is only the priests of the idols who speak to them.

*Difference in details of religion :*

*Sulaymān* and *Ibnu'l Faqīh* both relate that the people of Hind and China differ in religious matters that are not fundamental.

*Ibnu'l Faqīh* and *Ibn Rusta* say that the people of Hind believe that the origin of their books is from Qumār.<sup>98</sup>

\* العَسْرِيَّةُ - الْقَرَامِيَّةُ - الْمُحَاجِدِيَّةُ - الْمُسَاعِدِيَّةُ

98. Evidently this is a distortion of the fact mentioned by *Sulaymān* on p. 57 of the text. The Chinese believe that their religion was derived from Hind.

**Pious Works :**

*Abū Zayd* writes that the people of Hind have various usages by which they think they would approach God who is far beyond the imagination of the unjust. For example, they provide on the highways inns for the comfort of travellers and set up grocers' stores, so that those who pass by that way may purchase necessary things. They also settle in those inns women prostitutes to be employed by travellers for their pleasure. This is considered among them to be a meritorious service.<sup>99</sup>

There are in Hind men who are great devotees of their religion. They seek new islands in the sea, plant in them cocoanut trees and dig wells to sell the water for passing ships.

**BUILDINGS**

*Sulaymān* mentions that the walls of the Chinese buildings are of wood, but the people of Hind build them with stones, plaster, bricks and clay, and such things. Sometimes the Chinese also build after this fashion.

99. This is a strange misrepresentation of facts. There are sometimes attached to temples and choultries widows who have voluntarily dedicated themselves to the service of these shrines. It is to these that the author may be referring, but he is quite mistaken in his allegations.



## CHAPTER III

### INTRODUCTION

The general information on kings is gathered chiefly from the first group of writers and occasionally from Idrīsī, a writer of the fourth group. These details, such as they are, seem to be applicable to India as a whole; yet certain particulars, such as the description by Abū Zayd, of the custom observed by kings in Hind upon their accession to the throne, and the account by Sulaymān, Mas'ūdī and Idrīsī, of the funeral ceremony of kings, point unmistakably to the fact that the Arabs had greater intercourse with the people of the west coast, of the extreme south of the Indian peninsula and of the islands in the East Indies.

Almost all the Arab writers mention a number of kings and kingdoms, some in the north, some in the south, but there are a few whose identity is doubtful, and whose kingdoms cannot be accurately located.

Among the kings and kingdoms in Southern India our authors make repeated reference to one Balharā. No less than ten writers from Sulaymān to Dimishqī covering a period of about five centuries, mention him. They give various details explaining the name and the nature of the title 'Balharā' and other particulars about his kingdom, his position, wealth, influence and his provincial viceroy. There is, of course, the usual tendency in these writers to repeat what another has said, yet they give from time to time new and additional information, which, instead of being helpful in identifying the person intended by the title Balharā, tend to increase the existing confusion in the mind of the reader. These accounts may well convey the impression that the Balharā belongs to a dynasty of kings who were in power for a long time in Southern India. But the history of the Dekkan, during the period under reference, reveals a different picture of Southern India, describing constant feuds between several kings and gains

and losses which varied from time to time with the fortunes of war. Before attempting to reconcile the two divergent accounts of the Arab writers and the historians of Southern India, it will be helpful to know what the title 'Balharā' means.

The Arabic form 'Balharā' may be a corruption of the Sanskrit 'Vallabharāja' (supreme king). This word 'Vallabharāja' should by rules of *prākṛt* or vernacular pronunciation become *Vallabha-rāy*, *Ballaha-rāy* or *Balharāy*. The last two forms are the same as *Ballahrā* or *Balharā* of the Arab writers who give the meaning for this title as 'King of kings.'

It is evident from the History of the Dekkan<sup>1</sup> that this title *Vallabha*<sup>2</sup> was first assumed by the early Cālukyas who came into prominence about the middle of the sixth century A.D. The first prince who raised this family to distinction was *Jayasimha*. He was succeeded by his son *Pulakēsi* who performed a great *aśvamedha* or horse-sacrifice. He made *Vātāpipura*, which has been identified with *Bādāmi* in the *Kaladgi* district, his capital. His full title was *Satyāśraya Śrī Pulakēsi Vallabha Mahārāja*. Of these words *Vallabha* appears to be the title of all the princes of this dynasty. In some cases *Vallabha* had *Pr̥thvī* prefixed to it, so that the expression meant 'Lover or Husband of the earth.'

*Pulakēsi II*, who came to the throne in 611 A.D., was the greatest prince of this dynasty. His full title was *Satyāśraya Śrī Pr̥thvī Vallabha Mahārāja*. He reduced the *Kadambas* in *Banavāsi*, the prince of the *Ganga* family which ruled over the *Cēra* country situated about the modern *Mysore*, and the *Mauryas* of the *Konkan*. He defeated the kings of *Lāta*, *Mālva*, *Gūrjara*, who became his dependents. About this time *Harsavardhana*, king of *Kanoj*, a powerful king of Northern India who made himself paramount sovereign of the north, endeavoured to extend his power south of the *Narbada*. He was opposed by *Pulakēsi* who

1. *Early history of the Dekkan* by Ramakrishna Gopal Bhandarkar (Third edition) is consulted for the purpose of this study.

2. The word *Vallabha* also means: Beloved, desired, dear; a lover, husband, favourite, friend.

killed many of his elephants and defeated his army. Thenceforward Pulakēsi received or assumed the title of Paramēśvara, or the Lord Paramount. He kept a strong garrison on the banks of the Narbada to guard the frontiers. Thus by his policy as well as by his valour, he became the supreme lord of the three countries called Maharaṣṭrakas, containing ninety-nine thousand villages. Then he turned his attention towards the kings of Kosala and Kalinga, who trembled at his approach and surrendered to him. After some time he marched with a large army against Conjeevaram, and laid siege to it. He then crossed the Kāvēri, and invaded the countries of the Cōlas and the Pāṇḍyas, who became his allies. Thus Pulakēsi established his supremacy throughout the South before 634 A.D.

It was in the reign of this king that Yüan Chuang, the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim visited India. He calls him Pu-lo-ki-she and has given a description of the king and his country.

Pulakēsi's fame reached even foreign countries. It is reported in an Arabic work<sup>3</sup> that he sent an embassy to Khusraw

3. de Goeje's edition of *Tārikh-i-Tabari* has the following account on page 1052, Vol. II, prima series :

"Farmēsha (Paramēshvra) king of Hind, sent to us, in the thirty-sixth year of our reign, ambassadors carrying a letter imparting to us various news, and presents for us, for you, and our other sons. He also wrote a letter to each of you."

The name of the king in the Arabic text is Farmēsha, Sanskrit Paramēśvara or Lord Paramount, a title assumed by Pulakēsi after he defeated the army of Harṣavardhana, a king of Northern India.

Professor Noldeke who was perhaps not aware of this title of Pulakēsi, is at great pains to connect Parmēsha with Pulakēsi. From the Arabic *Farmēsha* he successfully arrives at Parmēsha; then he proceeds to say that as R and L are written with the same sign in Pehlvi, R is to be taken as a false mode of expressing L. As M may be substituted for K (Q) in the Arabic, or in the Pehlvi, it follows that the name may be correctly read as Pulakēsī. See J.R.A.S., Vol. XI (New Series), p. 166 and Noldeke: *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden*—p. 371 and Note.

Parwiz, king of Persia, who reigned from 590—627 A.D., in the thirty-sixth year of that king's reign, and must have received one from him either before or after.

Hence it becomes clear that there was a supreme king in the whole of Southern India by about the middle of the seventh century A.D.

The power of this dynasty of early Cālukyas declined in the course of time. During the reign of Kīrtivarman II (747 A.D.) the Cālukyas were deprived of their power in Maharata and the sovereignty passed from their hands into those of the Raṣtrakūṭa princes. These were the real native rulers of the country. Though they were sometimes eclipsed by enterprising princes such as the Cālukyas and others, yet they were never extirpated. They always rose against the Cālukyas and were finally able to subjugate them.

The most noteworthy ruler of this line was Govinda III. He subjugated the Ganga prince of Cēra, the kings of Gūrjara and Mālva and brought the Pallava king of Kāñcī under a more complete subjection than before. As a result of his successful expeditions to the north and south, which were completed by the end of the 8th century A.D., he acquired a large extent of territory and established his supremacy over a number of kings. He appears to have become the paramount sovereign of the whole country from Mālva in the north to Kāñcīpura in the south, and to have under his immediate sway the country between the Narbada and the Tungabhadra. His secondary names as found in his own grants were Prabhutavarṣa 'Raining profusely,' Pṛthvī Vallabha 'Lover of the earth' and Śrī Vallabha.

His son Amogavarṣa who succeeded Govinda III is spoken of simply as Vallabha and is styled Rāja Rāja, 'king of kings' and also as Vīra Nārāyaṇa.

Mānyakheṭa, the capital of the Raṣtrakūṭas, is spoken of as being in a very flourishing condition in the time of Amogavarṣa. Mānyakheṭa has been properly identified with Malkhed in the Nizam's dominions.

There were nineteen kings in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty. The last one Kakkala (973 A.D.), said to have been a brave soldier, was conquered in battle by Tailappa who belonged to the Cālukya race, and thus the sovereignty of the Dekkan passed from the hands of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas once more into those of the Cālukyas, after a lapse of two hundred and twenty-five years.

Tailappa who re-established the power of the Cālukyas, reigned for twenty-four years, during which period he carried his arms into the country of the Cōlas, and humbled the kings of Guzarat and Chedi. He invaded Malva, took the king prisoner and beheaded him.

The greatest ruler of this later Cālukya family was Vikramāditya II who had his capital at Kalyana. He had among many other titles the title of Pṛthvī Vallabha Mahārājādhirāja. There were eleven kings of this dynasty which was powerful from 973 A.D. to 1189 A.D. By about the first half of the 12th century the power of the later Cālukyas began to decline rapidly. Some of the feudatory chiefs became powerful and arrogant. There was constant war and the Yādhavas under Vīra Ballāla subdued the Cālukya general and put an end to the power of the dynasty.

Thus it appears that the early Cālukyas, the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, and then the later Cālukyas held the first rank among the kings of Southern India from the middle of the seventh century to the end of the twelfth century A.D. The kings of these dynasties always had for one of their titles 'Vallabha rāja,' the Arabic form of which is 'Ballahrā' or 'Balharā'. In the light of the foregoing account of the history of this period, the consistent reference by the Arab authors, to the Balharā appearing on the surface to be a myth, is seen to yield some sense.

A critical analysis of the account of the Balharā furnished by the Arab writers shows that these authors should be classified under three groups.

Sulaymān, Ibn Khurdādhbeh, Ya'qūbī, Ibn Rusta and Abū Zayd form one group, Mas'ūdī, Iṣtakhrī, Ibn Ḥawqal and Abul Faraj, another, while Idrīsī and Dimishqī form a separate group.

The information we get about the Balharā from the writers in Sulaymān's group is very general and vague, yet it is sufficiently clear to convey the impression of the Balharā's greatness, his position and power. As we already noticed, Pulakēsi, one of the early Cālukya princes, had established his supremacy by about the middle of the seventh century A.D. and his fame had reached even foreign courts. Sulaymān mentions Kamkam as a part of the kingdom of the Balharā; Ibn Khurdādhbeh and Ibn Rusta definitely say that the Balharā resides in Kamkam. As the book of Sulaymān is a mixed recital of a number of travellers and navigators in different times prior to 851 A.D., the narrator of the account of the Balharā,<sup>4</sup> whose name is not known to us, must have been an early traveller who had heard about the power and fame of the early Cālukya kings. The knowledge of this traveller was only confined to the coastal area, namely Kamkam<sup>5</sup> which extended a great distance along the west coast and may be supposed to have comprised the city Vātāpipura (Bādāmi) the capital of the Cālukyas. As Kamkam formed part of their kingdom, the narrator seems to have given a fairly correct estimate of the power of this dynasty. This fact must have been so familiar to the Arabs that later writers who had not visited the country, nor cared to enquire after fresh details on this point, repeated the traditional statement without being aware that the Cālukyas lost their supremacy as early as 757 A.D. when the Rāstrakūṭas rose to be the first power in Southern India.

The authors from Mas'ūdī to Abul Faraj, though they base their accounts on earlier works, show an improvement upon these, and give new and additional information. All these speak of Mānkīr, the capital of the Balharā. The statement of Mas'ūdī that Mānkīr is eighty parasangs from the sea conveys the impression that it is an inland town and its identification with Malkhed in the

4. Pp. 26-28, Sulaymān.

5. For particulars on the extent of Kamkam (Konkan) see: Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India*, under p. 633, and Kamkam in this book p. 42.

Nizam's dominions seems probable. The information of *Iṣṭakhrī* and Ibn Hawqal that Kanbāya to Saymūr is the land of the Balharā seems to be fairly correct as the Rāṣṭrakūṭa princes held sway over Guzarat ; Mas'ūdī's reference to Bāniyā, the Balharā's viceroy at Kanbāya, also confirms this conclusion.

Hence it may be presumed that the Balharā of these writers from Mas'ūdī to Abul Faraj refers to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings who were in power till 973 A.D.

Ibn Hawqal (975 A.D.) credits the Balharā with the authorship of a book of Proverbs. This Balharā may be identified with Amogavarṣa, one of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa princes who is represented as having been a devoted worshipper of a holy Jaina saint named Jinasena. An important work on the philosophy of the Digambara Jainas, entitled *Jayadhvavala*, is represented at the end as having been composed in the reign of Amogavaraṣa. In the introductory portion of a Jaina mathematical work entitled *Sārasaṁgraha* by Virācārya, Amogavarṣa is highly praised for his power and virtues and is spoken of as a follower of the Jaina doctrine.

The authorship of a small tract consisting of questions and answers on moral subjects, entitled *Praśnōttara-ratnamālikā*, which has been claimed for Saṅkarācārya and one Saṅkaraguru by the Brahmans, and for Vimala by the Śvetambaras, is attributed to king Amogavarṣa, by the Digambara Jainas. Thus it appears that among all the Rāṣṭrakūṭa princes Amogavarṣa was the greatest patron of learning and culture.

By the time Idrīsī (1154 A.D.) began to compose his account, the later Cālukyas were the first power in Southern India. The greatest prince of this line was Vikramāditya II who ruled for fifty years, 1076-1126 A.D. He governed his subjects well and they were happy under his rule. The security they enjoyed was so great that according to Bilhana, "they did not care to close the doors of their houses at night, and instead of thieves the rays of the moon entered through the window openings." He was liberal and bountiful to the poor and was a great patron of learning. As the Arabs by this time had greater intercourse with India, it is natural that they were better acquainted with the fame, position, influence,

and wealth of the kings of this dynasty, and in some ways the account of *Idrīsī* reflects this. But it is curious that *Idrīsī* does not mention Kalyana the capital city of the later Cālukyas. He mentions Nahrwara in the North and Saymūr in the South as cities under the sway of the Balharā which facts may be taken as an indication of the extent of the Balharā's kingdom.

By the time of *Dimishqī* (1325 A.D.) the state of affairs in the South was different. His reference to the land of the Balharā must have been based upon the earlier accounts, and the few details he gives are confusing.

There are also references to other kingdoms. We get various arabicised Tamil words, which may be taken to refer to the three kingdoms of the Cēra, the Cōla and the Pāṇḍya. 'Āriṭī and *Fāriṭ* may stand for the Cēra, *Šaylamān* and *Šūliyān* for the Cōla, and 'Ābidī, 'Āba, *Ghāba* and *Qāydī* for the Pāṇḍya.

Besides, there are references to the minor kingdoms of Dabhol and Bāghar.

Thus the kingdoms of the Balharā, the Cēra, the Cōla and the Pāṇḍya, seem to complete the picture of Southern India to a great extent.

CHAPTER III  
KINGS AND KINGDOMS



## KINGS AND KINGDOMS

### (a) GENERAL INFORMATION

#### *Hereditary Succession :*

*Mas'ūdī* informs us that royalty is limited to the descendants of one family and never goes to another.<sup>6</sup> The same is the case with families of the *wazīr*, *qāzī* and other high offices. They are never changed or altered.

#### *Age for Succession :*

The same author tells us that no king can succeed to the throne in India before he is forty years of age.

#### *Women Rulers :*

*Ya'qūbī* relates that some of the rulers of Hind are women.

#### *Kings chosen from the Kṣatriya Caste :*

Ibn Khurdādhbeh and Idrīsī report that the kings of Hind are chosen from the Shākriyya caste.<sup>7</sup>

#### *King's Appearance :*

*Mas'ūdī* says that kings do not appear before the public except on particular occasions which are fixed at certain intervals, and then it is only for the inspection of state affairs, for in their opinion, the kings lose their respect and give away their privileges if the public gazes at them.<sup>8</sup>

6. Compare : "In every one of these kingdoms royalty is restricted to only one family and it never departs from that particular family."

Sulaymān, p. 51.

7. See under Shākriyya Caste.

8. See Hopkins, *Ordinances of Manu*, Lect. VII 6; 7.

*Measures of Government :*

*Mas'ūdī* reports that good government in Hind is ensured by (judicious) selection and giving everything its due place in the hierarchy of Government.<sup>9</sup>

*Ceremony at the time of Accession to the Throne :*

The description by *Abū Zayd*, of the custom observed by kings on their accession to the throne is incorporated in the general account of the people under the heading "Sacrifice for kings."<sup>10</sup>

*Kings Independent of each other :*

*Sulaymān* says that the several kings of Hind never pay allegiance to one sovereign, but each is independent in his territory. But the *Balharā* is the king of kings in Hind.

*Wars :*

The same author relates that sometimes they fight for supremacy though it is rare<sup>11</sup> adding "yet I have not seen any one who

9. Cf. "The measures of Government must be carried by mildness in India and by degradation from a high rank."

Sprenger,—*Mas'ūdī*, p. 184.

"Government is only maintained by good feeling and by respect for the various dignities of the state."

Elliot,—*Mas'ūdī*, Vol. 1, p. 20.

The text reads :

وَالْمُرْيَاسَاتِ عَنْ هَالِإِجْرَانِ لَا بِالْخَيْرِ دُوْلَهُ اَلْإِبْشَارِ مَوْاصِيَهُمْ

مَوْاْتِبُ الْمِسَاَةِ

Barbier, Vol. 1, p. 167.

10. See page 106 in this book.

11. This is contrary to the facts of history. There was constant warfare between the various kings in Southern India.

subdued the kingdom of another, except the people of Tilwa<sup>12</sup> in the country of pepper."

*Conquered territory—how administered :*

It is also *Sulaymān* who tells us that whenever any king subdues another country, he makes a man of the family of the defeated king, governor of it. He would be under his control. Else the inhabitants of that country will not agree to be governed otherwise.

*Army :*

The soldiers of Hind, *Sulaymān* says, are numerous. They are not paid by the king. Whenever they are called upon for field service, they go entirely at their own expense and they are not a charge on the king's purse.<sup>13</sup> But the Chinese pay allowances to the soldiers as the Arabs.

*Ibnul Faqīh* gives the same information.

*Mode of Warfare :*

*Mas'ūdī* says that the kings fight in squares, each one amounting to twenty thousand men; so that every one of the four sides of the square has five thousand men.

*Slit Ears :*

*Ibn Khurdādhbeh* says that all the kings of Hind have slit ears.

*Ornaments :*

*Ibnul Faqīh* records that the kings of Hind wear ornaments.

*Abū Zayd* gives more details. He says that the kings of Hind wear ear-rings of precious stones set in gold. They also wear

12. *Sulaymān* evidently confuses the people of Tuluva community with the country of pepper, Malabar.

13. This statement is modified by the account of *Sulaymān* on p. 27, Arabic Text: "The Balharā is a king who gives allowances to soldiers after the manner of the Arabs."

collars of great price, adorned with precious stones of green and red. Pearls are highest in price and estimation. At the present day pearls constitute their treasures and riches.

*Kings—their women not veiled :*

*Abū Zayd* says that most of the kings do not veil their women. When they hold a court they allow their women to be seen by men who attend it, whether they be natives or foreigners.

*Drinking and fornication :*

The information given on drinking and fornication is included in Chapter II, which deals with the people in general.<sup>14</sup>

*Desire to possess Elephants :*

*Ibn Khurdādhbeh* mentions that the kings of Hind are eager to possess elephants of lofty stature and pay large sums for them. The elephants are nine cubits in height except those found in Aghbāb which are ten or eleven cubits high.

*Religious Faith :*

*Abū Zayd* says that all the kings of Hind and China believe in the faith of transmigration of souls. A person who may be relied upon relates: One of their kings had an attack of small-pox. After he recovered from it he looked in a mirror and thought his face very ugly. Then he turned towards the son of his brother and said to him thus: "No one like myself will live with this body after such a change. Verily it is only an abode for the spirit. When it passes away it migrates into another. So do you ascend the throne. I shall separate my soul from my body till I descend into another body." He called for one of his trenchant daggers and gave orders that his head should be cut off. Then he was burnt.

*Funeral ceremony :*

*Sulaymān* says that when the king of Sarandib died they

14. See pp. 100-103 and pp. 112-113 in this book.

placed a kind of carriage<sup>15</sup> just above the level of the ground and made the corpse lie on the back, with the hair of the head lying upon the ground. A woman held in her hand a broom and put the corpse to shame<sup>16</sup> (addressing the men about the corpse in the following manner) : "O men ! This was your king yesterday who ruled over you and you obeyed his commands. Behold today ! See what he has come to, he has left the world ! The angel of death has taken away his soul. (Therefore) do not be deceived by this life." She spoke such words. This continued for three days and after that the body was prepared for burial. The body is embalmed with sandal, camphor and saffron and is burnt, and the ashes are scattered abroad to the winds.

*Mas'ūdī* gives the same account, but with a slight variation. He says, I have seen in the country of Sarandib which is an island of the sea, that when a king dies, he is laid upon a car with small wheels, made for the purpose. His hair touches the ground, and a woman with a broom in her hand puts the corpse to shame,<sup>17</sup>

15. صَرْعَلْتَ عَنْ بَعْلَهْ قَرِيَّا مِنَ الْأَرْضِ Text p. 49. Elongated expression to convey a simple word in Tamil பாடை (Pādai), a bier.

16. وَامْرَأَةٌ بِيَدِهِ مَكْتِمَةٌ تَحْتُو التَّرَابَ عَلَى رَأْسِهِ Text, p. 50. "En même temps, une femme, tenant un balai à la main, chasse la poussière sur la figure du mort et crie ces morts."

Transl. Reinaud, p. 48.

"A woman follows with a broom, who sweeps the dust on to the face of the corpse, and cries out...." Elliot, p. 6.

فِي وَجْهِهِ and حَتَّى التَّرَابَ عَلَيْهِ means he poured dust with his hand, threw it upon him, in his face. The meaning ought to be taken figuratively.

17. وَامْرَأَةٌ بِيَدِهِ مَكْتِمَةٌ تَحْتُو التَّرَابَ عَلَى رَأْسِهِ Barbier, p. 167. "A woman with a broom in her hand sweeps dust on his head."

Sprenger, p. 184.

"Une femme, un balai à la main, jette de la poussière sur la tête du mort, en criant....." Barbier, Vol. I, p. 167.

crying out: "O people! this was yesterday your king and you were bound to obey his orders. See what has now become of him! He has left this world and the King of kings, the Eternal, and Self Existent, Who dies not, has taken his soul. Do not be given to life after this example." These words are intended as an exhortation to a pious and abstemious life in this world. After a procession with the body through the streets of the town, they divide it into four parts and burn it with sandal wood, camphor and other perfume. The ashes are thrown to the winds.

In this manner the people of Hind mostly perform the funeral ceremony for their kings and great men. This is done for a purpose they state, and a future goal they have in view.

*Idrīsī* has the following account. When the king dies they construct a vehicle of an appropriate size, and raised about two spans<sup>18</sup> above the ground. On this they place a cupola adorned with the crown<sup>19</sup> and then the corpse, clad in all its funeral ornaments, is laid in it and is dragged by slaves all round the city. The head is uncovered for those who wish to see, and the hair is drawn out to the ground.<sup>20</sup> A herald goes before uttering, in the Indian language, words of which the following is the sense. "People! Behold your king, so and so by name, son of so and so. He lived happily and mightily for so many years. He is no more, and all that he possessed has escaped from his hands. Nothing now

18. شبرین Two spans.

"Two palms." Elliot, Vol. 1, p. 88.

19. "On this they place the bier surmounted by the crown." Elliot, Vol. 1, p. 88.

But the text Bod. MSS. reads: ديرج على الجملة ته مكاله

20. و شعره ينجر على تراب الأرض Idrisi. MSS. Bodleian library.  
The hair drags upon the ground—Elliot, Vol. 1, pp. 88-89.

remains to him and he will feel no more pain. Remember, he has shown you the way you must follow."

When the procession<sup>21</sup> is concluded they take the corpse to the place where the bodies of the kings are burnt, and commit it to the flames. These people do not grieve and lament very much on these occasions.

The accounts of these three writers are in effect the same, although they vary to some extent in details.

21. **نادا فرغ من الطلاق** Idrīsī MSS. Bodleian Library.

"When all the ceremonies are concluded."

Elliot, Vol. 1, p. 89.

R. As Sulaymān's account definitely conveys the impression that the funeral ceremony pertains only to the kings of Ceylon it may be argued that the account cannot find a place in the present work which is restricted to Southern India. But Mas'ūdī who gives details almost identical with those given by Sulaymān qualifies his account with the statement that this is the manner of the funeral ceremony observed mostly by the people of Hind for their kings.

In this connection it may be said that the accounts provide a clear instance that Mas'ūdī follows Sulaymān. Further, as Mas'ūdī was a traveller we expect that he should give us more details pertaining to the place and observances of this ceremony. He disappoints us in this and simply passes it over with a statement at the end of the account that this is the custom with the people of Hind. These considerations argue that, apart from the general lack of interest in these writers to study the customs of Hindus seriously, the Arabs during the periods of Sulaymān and Mas'ūdī were more familiar with the islands in the East Indies rather than with the west coast of the Indian peninsula. This fact has also been noticed in the course of the discussion on the etymology of the word "Malibār." See under Malibār, p. 56, in this book.

Idrīsī's account shows that he had a different source. He might have had his information from contemporary travellers or from some of the earlier works which are not known to us so far. The latter seems to be more probable.

*Preparation for Meals :*

*Abū Zayd :* Kings and persons of high rank in Hind have fresh tables made for them every day, together with little dishes and plates, woven of the cocoanut leaf, in which they eat the food. And their meal over, they throw the table, the dishes and plates into the water, together with the fragments they have left. Thus at every meal they have a new service.

*Princes :*

*Idrīsi* notes that the princes of Hind grow long hair.

*Grandees:<sup>22</sup> Dress and Conveyance:*

*Abū Zayd :* The grandees of the court, and the officers of the army wear pearls. The chief<sup>23</sup> among them is carried on the neck of a man (in a palanquin). He wears a *fūṭa* and holds in his hand a *chatra*, that is a parasol of peacock feathers to shade himself from the sun. At the same time he is surrounded by his followers.<sup>24</sup>

22. وجوه

23. الرئيس

24. The text reads as follows :

والرئيس منهم يركب على عنق رجل منعم وعليه فوطة وقد استر بها  
وفي يده شئ يعرف بالجترة وهي مظلة من رئيس اسقروا رئيس يأخذها  
في يده فيتقي بها الشمس واصحابه محمد قون

Abu Zayd, p. 145.

R. It is rather strange that the word 'palanquin' is not used by the writer. Besides the picture also is not correctly portrayed. The *raīs* will not hold a *chatra* in his hand when he sits inside the palanquin. The mace bearers and umbrella-holders will walk in front and on either side of the palanquin while the companions follow the palanquin.

چستر P. *chatre* (s. *chhatra*) An umbrella, parasol (especially as an ensign of royalty).

The description of the *chatra* is wrong here as it is not made of peacock feathers.

## (b) DESCRIPTION OF KINGS AND KINGDOMS

*King Ratila called al-'Abidi* :<sup>25</sup>

*Ibn Rusta* quotes a narrator<sup>26</sup> who says: "I saw the king called al-'Abidi, he is the king Ratila. There are no elephants in his land. He purchases elephants, but he does not buy those more than five cubits in height, because elephants over five cubits are sold at the rate of one thousand *dīnārs* for every cubit over five up to nine."

25. و راتيلا ملك ارذى يقال له العابدى . . . . . وهو ملك راتيل

26. The name of the narrator is not given.

R. The same narrator speaks of three kings, al-'Abidi, al-'Ariṭī, his neighbour, and a third king called al-Şaylamān, more powerful than the other two. The word Şaylamān, (the Şūliyān of *Dimišhqī*) which undoubtedly refers to the Cōlas gives the clue that the words 'Abidi and 'Ariṭī must refer to the other two kingdoms of the Pāṇḍya and the Cēra. This conjecture is further confirmed by the Ms. *Tabā'i'-al-Hayawān*, discovered by Dr. Arberry, Librarian, India Office, and being edited by Professor Minorsky of the School of Oriental Studies, London, which reads thus:—

و و راتيل ملك رسلا و يقال له مال دس شري عليه ملك يقال له  
العاشر طى شري عليه ملك يقال له صيمان وهو اعلم من . . . .

مَالِ دَسْ رَسْلَاء corresponds to Ibn Rusta and is without doubt Pāṇḍyan. By what process of transformation the word Pāṇḍyan became al-'Abidi in the copy of Ibn Rusta is beyond all calculations. Thus it appears that Ratila is the name of the Pāṇḍyan king. Perhaps this Ratila may be identified with Rāja Simha II (about 900 A.D.), the donor of the larger Śinnamanūr plates which have been discovered in recent times.

Mas'ūdī says: The kings who rule over Mandūrfīn are called al-Qāydi  
القَيْدِي . . . This is again a corruption of the word Pāṇḍyan. See under  
al-Qāydi.

*King called al-'Aritī* :<sup>27</sup>

*Ibn Rusta* on the authority of a narrator<sup>28</sup> says that the neighbour to Ratila is another king called *al-'Aritī*.

*Ya'qūbī* places the kingdom of *al-Fārit* after the kingdom of *al-Daybul*.

*Kingdom of Bāghira* :<sup>29</sup>

*Mas'ūdī* says that crocodiles abound in this sea of Hind which has many bays like the bay of *Sindābūr* in the kingdom of *Bāghira* in Hind.

27. *العاشر* *Ibn Rusta*.

28. The name of the narrator is not mentioned.

R. Whatever may be the present form *عاشر* in the text, the narrator has doubtless meant it to refer to the *Cēra* king when he mentions that name between 'Ābidi (Pāndya) and *Şaylamān* (Cōla) kings.

The author of *Tabā'i'-al-Hayawān* who does not seem to follow *Ibn Rusta* has also mentioned *العاشر* in the same manner.

As *Ya'qūbī* mentions *al-Fārit*. *العاشر* after *al-Daybul*, it must refer to the *Cēra* Kingdom only. See under *Daybul* and *Fārit*.

29. *باغر* *Barbier*, p. 207.

*Baghar* or *Baghira*, *Sprenger*, p. 234.

*باغر* ( *باغز* ) *Sprenger*, foot note on p. 234.

*Bāghara*, *Elliot*, Vol. 1, p. 22.

R. The kingdom of *Bāghira* may have reference to *Hābu* kings, whose capital was *Siddhāpūr*. Many crocodiles are found in the *Kalinadi* at *Kadra* and *Siddhāpūr*. See under *Sindābūr*, p. 73 in this book.

*Elliot* says: "This (*Bāghara*) must be intended for "Balharā" in whose kingdom *Sindābūr* seems to have been situated." Vol. I, p. 22, note 1.

*Elliot's information does not appear to be correct.*

*The Balharā* :<sup>30</sup>

*Sulaymān*, *Ibn Khurdādhbeh*, *Ya'qūbī*, *Ibn Rusta*, *Mas'ūdī*, *İstakhrī*, *Ibn Hawqal*, *Abul-Faraj*, *İdrisi*, *Dimishqī*—all these ten writers speak about the Balharā.

*Meaning of the title Balharā* :

Of these writers, only four<sup>31</sup> say that the title Balharā signifies 'king of kings.'

*Nature of the title* :

As to the nature of this title Sulaymān says that 'Balharā' is the title common to every one of their sovereigns like the title Kisrā and such other titles and it is not a proper name.

Mas'ūdī has the following remark. A king named Balharā became the master over Mānkīr, the great metropolis. He was the first who had the name Balharā which became subsequently the title of every sovereign of that great capital down to our time which is the year 332 A.H.

Ibn Hawqal says that the king is known after the name of the country as they say *Ghāna*      غانه which is the name of the country as well as the name of the king. The same with *Kūgha*      كوعه and the like.

İdrisi goes into greater details. He says that the name Balharā is hereditary here as in other parts of the country, where, when a king ascends a throne he takes the name of his predecessor and transmits it to his heir. This is a regular custom from which these

30. *بالهارا* All writers.

31. *بالهارا* Sprenger-Mas'ūdī, p. 176.

31. *Sulaymān*, *Ibn Khurdādhbeh*, *Ibn Rusta* and *İdrisi*.

people never depart. There is the same rule with the kings of Nubia, Zanj, Ghāna,<sup>32</sup> Persia and in the Roman empire in respect of the hereditary descent of names.

Idrīsī further says that the work of 'Ubaydullāh Ibn Khurdādhbeh contains a passage concerning this which is worth quoting.<sup>33</sup>

"Kings," he says, "generally bear hereditary titles—thus those of China have been called Bagh-bugh and also Baghbūn for centuries till this day and the titles descend in regular order. Among the kings of India there are the Balharā, Jāba, Tāfar,<sup>34</sup> al-Hazr,<sup>35</sup> Ghāna,<sup>36</sup> Dahmā<sup>37</sup> and Qāmrūn. These names are only taken by the prince who reigns over the province or the country, no other has any right to assume them, but whoever reigns takes the name. Among the Turks, the Tibetans and the Khazars, the king is called Khāqān, but among the Khazluj he takes the title of Jabghūya, which is hereditary. Likewise the kings of al-

32. **عاقبة** Idrīsī Ms. Poc. 375.

33. The passage referred to by Idrīsī is not to be traced anywhere in de Goeje's edition of Ibn Khurdādhbeh. In de Goeje's edition **القاب ملوك الأرض** is discussed on p. 16 and **القاب ملوك خراسان والمشرق** is discussed on p. 39.

34. **الطاوfir** Bib. Nat. Paris.

**العنامر** Ms. Poc. 375 Bod. Library.

35. **الحرب** Ms. Poc. 375. Bod. Library.

36. **عابه** Ms. Poc. 375. Bod. Library and Bib. Nat. Paris.

37. **دمني** Ms. Poc. 375. Bod. Library.

Idrīsī's manuscripts

فَامْرُونْ - مَرْصُمْيْ - غَابَةْ - جَابَةْ - طَافِنْ - جَابَةْ - بَلْهَرَا

Compare *Ibn Khurdādhbeh*, p. 16.

"Tāfir, Hazr (Juzr) Ābāt, Dumi, (Rahmī) and Kāmrūn." Elliot, Vol. I, p. 86.

Zābaj are called al-Fatijab, a hereditary title. In the Roman empire they take the title of Caesar which is inherited by all those who become kings. Among the Aghzāz they are called Shāh-Shāh, that is, king of kings, a title hereditary like the rest. Finally among the Persians they are called al-Akāsira. Among the people who dwell in the Sudan the names of the kings are derived from their countries—thus the ruler of Ghāna is called Ghāna, the king of Kūgha كوغه is called Kūgha.

*Kingdom of the Balharā :*

Sulaymān says that the kingdom of the Balharā begins from the coast of the sea comprising the country called Kamkam, and extends by land as far as China.<sup>38</sup>

That Kamkam (Konkan) is the country of the Balharā may be deduced from the statement of Ibn Khurdādhbeh that the Balharā resides in Kamkam.

Ibn Rusta says that the Balharā lives in his country called Kamkam. He is a king, master of a vast territory.

Ya'qūbī simply states that the kingdom of the Balharā comes after Rahmā.

Abū Zayd brings in the name 'kingdom of the Balharā' when he speaks about the faith of the people of Hind in the transmigration of souls.

Mas'ūdī says that the distance between the capital city of

R. Idrīsī's MSS. have various readings of the titles of foreign kings, which are obviously due to bad writing. Correct forms are substituted in the place of wrong ones.

38. Compare: "The kingdom of the Balharā commences on the seaside at the country of Komkam (Konkan) on the tongue of land which stretches to China." Elliot,—*Sulaymān*, Vol. I, p. 4.

وأرضه أولها ساحل البحر وهي باد تدعى الكنكم منارة على الأرض إلى الصين

Sulaymān, Text, p. 28.

the Balharā and the sea is eighty Sindī parasangs and every such parasang has eight miles. His country is also called Kamkar.<sup>39</sup>

İştakhrī and Ibn Hawqal say that from Kanbāya to Saymūr is the land of the Balharā, one of the kings of Hind,<sup>40</sup> and the latter adds that the country of the Balharā is extensive.

İdrīsī relates that the kingdom of the Balharā is vast, well-populated, commercial and fertile. Saymūr and Nahrwārah belong to a country whose king is called the Balharā.

Dimishqī seems to be confused when he says that the land of the Balharā is on the border of Sīn-al-Sīn while Jazrāt also is adjacent to Sīn-al-Sīn.<sup>41</sup>

39. Kiminkar—Sprenger, p. 389.

40. Compare: "From Kanbaya to Saimur is the land of the Balharā, and in it there are several Indian kings." Elliot—İştakhrī, Vol. 1, p. 27.

The text of İştakhrī (de Goeje, p. 173) reads thus:

و من كتابة إلى صيمور من بلد بالهرا بعض ملوك الهند

The word *بعض* may sometimes mean one, though it connotes generally more than one.

Against this, the text of Ibn Hawqal (de Goeje, p. 227) is very clear:

و من كتابة إلى صيمور وهو بلد بالهرا

But Elliot's version of Ibn Hawqal, (p. 34) says: "From Kanbāya to Saimūr is the land of the Balharā and in it there are several Indian kings." See also foot-note 5 on the same page.

41. The following details on the mountain of the Balharā gathered from various pages of his work show further Dimishqī's confusion:

"The mountain of the Balharā is in the second climate," he says, "the latitude of which is from 20° to 27°" (p. 19). "The river Mankhar-rūr-Khansh comes out of the mountains of the Balharā, flows through the frontiers of Tājah, and the land of bamboos and empties into the sea of big Ma'bar". (p. 101). "The skirts of the mountains of the Balharā form the frontier on the northern side of their country, while the big ocean is the eastern boundary." (p. 169).

The mountains of the Balharā are in continuation of the gates of China, extending as far as the country of Jazrat. There are about seventy fortresses

*The Balharā's Capital :*

Mas'ūdī gives, for the first time, indication about the capital city. He says that the Balharā was the king of Mānkīr, the great metropolis. The inhabitants of Mānkīr which is the residence of the Balharā speak the Kīriyya language.

Iṣtakhrī remarks that the city in which the Balharā dwells is Mānkīr which has an extensive territory.<sup>42</sup>

Abul Faraj says that the Balharā lives in the city of Mānkīr.

*Neighbouring Kings and Kingdoms:*

Sulaymān has the remark that round about the Balharā's kingdom there are many kings who are at war with him but he has the upper hand over all of them.

Ibn Rusta states that there are many kings who are his neighbours.

Mas'ūdī gives fuller details. The dominions of the Balharā border on many other kingdoms in Hind; some kings have their territory in the mountains and are not in possession of sea as the Rāy, the ruler of Qashmīr and the king of Ṭāfan and other sovereigns of Hind; others are in possession of land and sea.

At some distance from him is the territory of Ba'ūrah.<sup>43</sup> نوره the king of Qannawj, who is not in possession of

in these mountains of the Balharā all under the jurisdiction of the town Manjarūrsāh (p. 170). . .

42. The same information is found in Elliot's version of Ibn Hawqal, but the text has no reference to Mānkīr and the words "extensive territory" as they stand in the text refer to the country of the Balharā.

وبلاد بلحرا مساجد بجمع فيها الجماعات ويقام بسائرها العادات  
بالذان على المنابر والاعلان بالتكبير والتهليل وهي مملكة عريضة

de Goeje—Ibn Hawqal, p. 228.

43. نوره or برونه ( بوده ) Sprenger, p. 580.

sea. He is an enemy of the Balharā, the king of Hind. The king of Qannawj has four armies corresponding with the four cardinal winds and each army is composed of seven hundred thousand men, also said as nine hundred thousand men. The army of the north has to oppose the king of Multan and his allies, the army of the south has to defend the country against the Balharā, the king of Mānkīr, and in the same manner are the other armies engaged against other neighbouring powers.

On one side, the country of the Balharā, called Kamkar, is exposed to the inroads of the king of Juzr ; on another side, it is exposed to the attacks of Rahmā.

*Respect paid to the Balharā :*

- Sulaymān says that both the people of Hind and China are agreed upon the fact that the kings of the world may be reckoned as four. They hold the king of the Arabs as the first of the four. It is the unanimous opinion of all and there is no dispute on this point that he is the most powerful of all kings and most wealthy and glorious of all. He is the head of a great religion and there is no religion to surpass it. Then they place the king of China next to the king of the Arabs, then the king of Rūm and then the Balharā, the king of those who have slit ears. This Balharā is the most illustrious king in Hind. The people of Hind acknowledge his superiority. All other kings of Hind, though each is independent, acknowledge the Balharā as the most glorious of them all. They pray to his ambassadors to honour him.

Ibn Khurdādhbeh says that the greatest king of Hind is the Balharā.

Ibn Rusta : The kings round about him pray to him, and whenever the ambassadors of the Balharā visit their cities they honour them out of respect for the Balharā.

Mas'ūdī says that the greatest king of Hind in our times is the Balharā, the lord of Mānkīr. Most of the kings in Hind turn in their prayers towards him and they adore his messengers when they receive them.

*Army :*

Sulaymān says that the Balharā has many horses and elephants. He is a king who gives allowances to soldiers after the manner of the Arabs.

Ibn Rusta restricts himself with the statement that the Balharā is master of a large army.

Mas'ūdī relates that his troops and elephants are innumerable and his army consists mostly of infantry, for his dominions are mountainous. The Balharā pays his army from the public treasury as the Muslims do. His war elephants are beyond number.

Abul Faraj says that the Balharā owns sixty thousand elephants.

Idrīsī says he has troops and elephants; the elephants are numerous and these constitute the chief strength of his army.

The ministers and commanders of the troops never accompany the king except when he marches against those who defy him (or to deprive his governors of their power),<sup>44</sup> or to repulse encroachments made upon his territories by neighbouring kings.

*Wealth:*

While Sulaymān says that the Balharā's wealth is in *dirhams* called *Tātariyya*, Idrīsī gives a few details. The kingdom of the Balharā pays abundant taxes so that the king is immensely rich.

*Accounts about the person Balharā :*

Ibn Khurdādhbeh says that the Balharā has inscribed the following words in his ring: "He who befriends you for a purpose will turn away after its completion".<sup>45</sup>

44. Elliot's version of Idrīsī omits this.

45. The Arabic text (de Goeje, p. 67) reads thus:—

مَنْ دَرَأَ لَمْ رُدَّ مَعَ انتِهَا

But Elliot's translation of Ibn Khurdādhbeh (Vol. I, p. 13) says thus: "What is begun with resolution ends with success."

Abul Faraj says that every year the Balharā, king of Mānkīr, rides to the temple, nay, he goes by foot to the temple and returns to his residence riding on horse.

Idrīsī relates that he worships idols; he wears a crown of gold upon his head, and (robes woven with gold).<sup>46</sup> He rides a good deal on horseback, but especially once a week when he goes out attended only by women, one hundred in number, (clad in dress of gold embroidery,<sup>47</sup> adorned with beautiful jewels, wearing bracelets<sup>48</sup> of gold and silver upon their hands and feet and letting down their hair on their backs<sup>49</sup>). They engage in various games and sham fights while their king marches at their head.

Ibn Ḥawqal says that the Balharā is the author of the *Book of Proverbs*.<sup>50</sup>

*Relationship between the Balharā and the Arabs and the Muslims:*

Sulaymān says that in the whole country of Hind there is none more affectionate to the Arabs than the Balharā and likewise his subjects also profess the same love for the Arabs.

46. "and dresses in rich stuffs."—Elliot, Vol. I, p. 87.

47. P. قرطق — القراطق المذهبة P. Tunic.

These may refer to costly silk sāris and jackets with embroidered work.

48. P. سوار — سوار — سوار Pl. سوار

49. "richly clad, wearing rings of gold and silver upon their feet and their hands, and their hair in curls." Elliot, Vol. I, p. 88.

50. This may have reference to *Praśnōttara-ratnamālīka*, a small tract consisting of questions and answers on moral subjects. The authorship of this book is attributed to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa King Amogavarṣa. See R. G. Bhandarkar, *History of the Dekkan*, pp. 117-119, and also the introduction to Chapter III in this book.

The Balharā line of kings live for a long period, many have ruled for fifty years. The people of the country of the Balharā believe that the longevity of their sovereigns and their prosperity in the land are due to their love for the Arabs.

Mas'ūdī gives the following information. There is no sovereign either in Sind or Hind who honours the Muslims like the Balharā in his kingdom.<sup>51</sup> Islam is therefore flourishing in his country. The mosques and cathedral mosques are built and prayers are regularly said in these. The Balharā kings are long-lived and reign forty, fifty and more years and the people of his country<sup>52</sup> believe that the length of the life of their sovereigns is due to the justice and the respect paid to the Muslims.

Iṣtakhrī says that there are, in the cities of the Balharā, Muslims, and none but Muslims rule over them on behalf of the Balharā. There are mosques built in these cities and prayers are regularly said.

Ibn Hawqal who gives similar information has additional details. He says: "This is the same practice that I found in most of the cities ruled over by infidel kings like Khazar, al-Sarīr, al-Lān, Ghāna and Kūgha. In all these cities the Muslims, however few they are, will not tolerate the exercise of authority, nor the imposition of punishment, nor the testimony of a witness except by Muslims. But in some parts I have seen Muslims seeking witness among non-Muslims who have reputation for honesty and the other

51. "Neither in Hind, nor in Sind, is there a sovereign who disturbs the peace of the Muslims in their own country." Sprenger p. 388.

Then, in a foot note to this, Sprenger says: "one copy reads: 'who persecutes the Muslims in his country, so for instance, the Balhara'" and all that follows respecting the longevity of the kings is said there in reference to the Balharā.

52. "and the (Muslim) subjects believe." Sprenger, p. 389.

party is satisfied. Sometimes the other party refuses to accept the witness, and Muslim takes his place and so the decision will be reached.

*Coin in the kingdom of the Balharā :*

Both Sulaymān and Mas'ūdī mention a *dirham* called *Tāṭariyya*.<sup>53</sup> Each *dirham* weighs one *dirham* and a half. While Mas'ūdī remarks that the coin bears the date when their king succeeded to the throne, Sulaymān gives fuller details. He says that the coin is made with the die of the king.<sup>54</sup> Its date is in a year counted from the reign of his predecessor, not like the custom of the Arabs from the era of the Prophet. Their dates are according to their kings.

*Bāniyā*<sup>55</sup>, the Balharā's Viceroy :

The Balharā had his viceroy at Kanbāya, as is learnt from Mas'ūdī. He says, "I visited Kanbāya in 303 A.H. (915 A.D.)

53. طاطرية Sulaymān, p. 27.

طاطرية Barbier—*Mas'ūdī*, p. 382.

طاطرية Barbier—*Mas'ūdī*, foot note p. 403.

Talatawian طاطرية Tāṭarian طاطرية Sprenger—*Mas'ūdī*, p. 389.

54. The text of Sulaymān p. 27 reads thus:

ونب كل درهم ونصف سكينة الملك وتأريخه في سنة من ملكه من كان قبله

R. Many writers mention this *Tāṭariyya* *dirham* and *Sindhī dinārs*. Ibn Rusta and Idrīsī mention *Tāṭariyya*, Abū Zayd *Sindhī dinārs*, and Maqdisī *Tāṭariyya* and *Sindhī dinārs*.

It is not possible to identify the *Tāṭariyya* *dirham* with any other coin current in the country then. The principal coins that were in circulation in Southern India during the period of *Rāṣṭrakūṭas* are: *Dramma*, *Suvarna*, *Gadyānaka*, *Kalanju* and *Kāśu*—For details see A. S. Altekar, *The Rashtrakutas and their Times*, p. 364.

55. بابina Barbier—*Mas'ūdī*, p. 254.

Babina بابina ( بابين ) Sprenger—*Mas'ūdī*, p. 278.

when Bāniyā, the Brahman<sup>56</sup> was reigning there on behalf of the Balharā the sovereign of Mānkīr. This Bāniyā liked to enter into discussions with visitors to his city from among Muslims as well as those of other faiths.<sup>57</sup>

56. "During the government of Babina who was appointed there as Brahman by the Balhara." Sprenger—*Mas'ūdī*, p. 278.

R. Bāniyā belongs to the Brahman caste. Sprenger's translation gives a wrong connotation.

Mawlawī Sayyid Sulaymān ṣāḥib Nadwī, the writer of an article "Early Muslim Geographers on India" in "Islamic Culture," Vol. XI, October 1937, p. 488, translates thus: "Kanbaya which was ruled over by a Brahman trader who owed allegiance to Rajah Vallabha Rai." But the text edited by Barbier de Meynard (Paris 1861, Vol. I, p. 254) reads thus:

وَالْمَلِكُ يَعْمَدُ بَانِيَا وَكَانَ بِرْ حِمَّيَا مِنْ قَبْلِ بَاعِرَا

This clearly indicates that Bāniyā is the name of the ruler, a member of the Brahman community.

Perhaps the learned Mawlawī ṣāḥib took Bāniyā to be a Hindi word, *Banyā*, *Baniyā*, which means merchant, trader, shop-keeper, etc. This Hindi word itself is a corruption of the Sanskrit 'Vanik' and came to be applied to the merchant class among the Hindus of Northern India in modern times.

It is gathered from the Cambay plates of Govinda IV, that the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Emperor, Govinda IV had visited Kapittaka to attend the festival of *Paṭṭabandha* in *Sāka* 852 (930 A.D.). The Lāta country which includes Kanbāya (Cambay) was under the government of Govinda IV, whose period coincides with that of *Mas'ūdī*, 303 A.H. The emperor usually appointed Brahmins as his agents, and not Baniyas (merchants). See *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VII, p. 26.

وَكَانَ بَانِيَا هَذَا عَنْ يَدِ الْمَنَاطِرَةِ وَمَعَ مَنْ يَرِدُ إِلَى بَلَدِهِ ۝

57. من المسلمين وغيرهم من أهل العمل

Barbier, Vol. I, p. 254.

The letter ۝ before ح is evidently a mistake. The text should be read without it.

Barbier translates thus:

"Ce Bania traitait avec le plus grande faveur les musulmans et les sectateurs d'autres religions qui arrivaient dans son pays."

*King of Barūṣ<sup>58</sup>:*

Dimishqī relates that Samarqandi tells<sup>59</sup> the following story: The king of Barūṣ visited an idol and saw around its neck a necklace of great value. He took it from its neck and adorned himself with it. To the ministers who objected to this, he answered, "It is a gift to me from the idol. If you do not agree I shall break it (to pieces), but if you are truthful, it is the idol that gave it to me." The priests pretended to believe in his word.

*Daybul* :<sup>60</sup>

Ya'qūbī mentions the kingdom of Daybul after Qumār and before Fārit.

58. *بُرُوش*.

59. Le morceau depuis *بُرُوش* jusqu'à la fin du chapitre manque dans les trois manuscrits. Dimishqī, F. note (d) p. 172.

R. Mehren suggests "le roi Borouc (Porus)." But there is no evidence to suggest that it refers to the king Porus who fought against Alexander the Great. After the description of the temple of Somnat, yōgis and Brahmins, Dimishqī introduces this story about the king of Barūṣ and then proceeds to describe Kanbāya and Barūṣ (Broach). If the reference were to be to the king Porus it is very likely that the Arabs, who had access to the works of early Greek writers, learnt this story through them. Dimishqī, who quotes Samarqandi as his authority, thought, perhaps, that it referred to the king of Barūṣ (Broach). Historically the city of Broach does not seem to have been connected with any king.

60. *دَبَّول*.

R. This may be identified with Dabhol, a sea port as famous as another port Chaul, both on the west coast lying south of Bombay.

Ferrand in his *Relations des Voyages* (p. 48) identifies it with Daybul in Sind and connects it with a city of the same name mentioned by Ibn Hawqal, Idrīsī and Abul Fidā. But it is rather difficult to believe that Ya'qūbī's knowledge of places in Northern India went beyond Kanbāya. His account contains references to more places in the south and Daybul is mentioned after Sarandib and Qumār and before Fārit (Cēra kingdom). So it may be understood that his Daybul refers to Dabhol on the west coast. This view is strengthened when he says that the Hindi musk is carried to Daybul and then exported by sea.

*Fārit* :<sup>61</sup>

Yā'qūbī mentions Fārit after Daybul and before the kingdom of the Balharā.

*King Ghāba* :<sup>62</sup>

Ibn Khurdādhbeh and Idrīsī make mention of the king Ghāba before the king Rahmā.

61. فَارِطٌ

R. Fārit may refer to one of the three kingdoms in the extreme south of the peninsula, namely, Cēra, Cōla and Pāṇḍya kingdoms.

Ibn Rusta mentions al-'Āriṭī, a neighbour to Ratila called al-'Abidi (Pāṇḍya) and then speaks about Ṣaylamān (Cōla). 'Āriṭī عَارِطٌ of Ibn Rusta may get corrupted into Fārit, فَارِطٌ, as in a bad handwriting, ف may be confused for ف. The ئ at the end in such cases is generally not important as it is sometimes meant for relative adjective, and it does not affect the main word. Thus 'Āriṭī and Fārit may stand for one and the same name. Since 'Āriṭī is identified as referring to a Cēra king, it may be concluded that Fārit also may represent a Cēra king.

Houtsma proposes to correct فَارِطٌ al-Fārit as نَرْبُدَّ al-Nārbīt (Nerbudda?). It appears a needless correction. See Houtsma, p. 106, foot-note 1.

62. عَابَةٌ Ibn Khurdādhbeh.

عَابَةٌ - عَابَةٌ Idrīsī.

Compare: "Ghānah"—Elliot, Vol. I, p. 13, l. 8.

'Ana—Elliot, Vol. I, p. 13, l. 25.

Foot-note 4 on the same page says: "The Paris version here reads: "Anah" but in the first paragraph the name is given as "Ghanah," Sir H. Elliot's text has "'Aba."

*Idrīsī* alone has the remark<sup>63</sup> that this name is only taken by the prince who reigns over the province or the country, no other has any right to assume it, but whoever reigns takes the name.

*Al-Qāydi*,<sup>64</sup> *king of Mandūrfīn*:

*Mas'ūdī* says the kings who rule over *Mandūrfīn*<sup>65</sup> are styled as *al-Qāydi*.

*King al-Şaylamān*:<sup>66</sup>

*Ya'qūbī* mentions the kingdom of *al-Şaylamān* after that of *al-Fārit* (*Cēra*).

*Ibn Rusta* quotes a narrator<sup>67</sup> who says: "I saw the king *al-Ābidī*, his neighbour king *al-Āriṭī*, and another king *al-Şaylamān*. This king is more powerful than the other two, and commands a

63. The information is quoted by *Idrīsī* from the work of *Ibn Khurdādh-beh*, but *de Goeje's* edition of *Ibn Khurdādh-beh* gives no such information.

R. This name *Ghāba* or *Āba*, no doubt seems to be another form of *Ābidī* (*Pāṇḍya*) of *Ibn Rusta*, and *Idrīsī's* remark that *Āba* is the title assumed by the reigning sovereign points to the conclusion that *Āba* stands for the title *Pāṇḍya*.

See under *Ābidī*.

64. *القَادِي* *Mas'ūdī*.

65. See under *Mandarī*.

R. *al-Qāydi* of *Mas'ūdī* refers to the title of *Pāṇḍya* assumed by the rulers of *Madura*. The form given by *Mas'ūdī* is better than *Ābidī* of *Ibn Rusta* and comes very near *مَدُون* of the author of *Tabāt-al-Hayawān*. See under *Ābidī*.

66. *الشَّيْلَمَان*

67. The name of the narrator is not mentioned.

larger army. They say his army numbers about seventy thousand men. He has few elephants, but the people of Hind say that the elephants of al-Şaylamān are more brave in battle than all the elephants owned by the peoples in Hind.

I saw one of his elephants al-Namrān  the like of which I never saw with any other king of Hind. This elephant is white, spotted with dark marks. There is no other elephant more brave than this in battle.

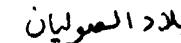
They kindle a big fire, and charge the elephants at it; those which stand up to the fire and rush into it will be bold in battle. The elephants that are cowardly are neither fit for war, nor for riding. They are used for transhipment of goods, as is done on camels.

Dimishqī says that close to Kawlam,<sup>69</sup> the last city of the Country of pepper, is the country of al-Şuliyān,<sup>70</sup> which includes the big Ma'bar and the small Ma'bar.<sup>71</sup>

68. The Arabic word  (to be spotted), suggests that the narrator may have attempted to describe in Arabic the elephant with dark spots, though he has made it appear that it is not an Arabic word.

If it is not an Arabic word, it may be connected with either of the following Tamil words, நம்பிரான் *Nampirān*—Lord, நம்பியான் *Nampiyān*—a title of the officiating priests. It is a common custom to call favourite animals after popular names.

69. See under Kawlam.

70. 

71. See under Ma'bar.

R. The statement of Ibn Rusta that al-Şaylamān was more powerful than the other two kings is confirmed by the author of *Tabā'i-al-Hayawān*, a manuscript in the India Office.

The Cōlas rose into power from the 10th century A.D. and for about three centuries the Pāndyan kingdom formed a part of the Cōla empire. Dimishqī's statement that it included the two Ma'bars shows the extent of their territory.

## KINGS AND KINGDOMS WHOSE IDENTIFICATION IS DOUBTFUL

*King Bahal*<sup>72</sup>:

*Ibn Rusta* quotes Abū ‘Abdullāh Muḥammad Ibn Ishāq who relates: “Of the kings in Hind with whom I had transactions there is none like the king of Bahal to spend money on drink.”

*King of Elephants—the King of Hind*:

*Abū Zayd* relates the story of an Arab<sup>73</sup> who went to China and had an interview with the Chinese Emperor. In the course of the talk, the Emperor tells the Arab that in China they esteem five kings.<sup>74</sup> The fourth king is the King of Elephants, the King of Hind, whom the Chinese regard as the king of wisdom, for the origin of science is from Hind.

72. البَهَلُ

73. Ibn Wahab, a descendent of Habbār, son of Aswad, was a Qurayshī and a resident of Baṣra. He left that city during the invasion of the leader of the Zanj and came to Sirāf where he saw a ship ready to sail for China. He decided to travel for China and boarded the ship. In due course he reached Khamdān. There he stayed a long time, presenting petitions to the Emperor of China wherein he said that he was of the family of the Prophet of Arabia. Eventually the Emperor gave him audience. In the course of the interview he asked him among many other things, particulars about the Arabs, and how they had destroyed the kingdom of the Persians. The Emperor was very much pleased with the Arab and gave him many rich presents. Then Ibn Wahab returned from China. Abū Zayd met this Arab at Sirāf and learnt from him all details. Abū Zayd, p. 77.

74. The first in rank is the ruler of ‘Irāq, the king of kings, then the king of China, then the king of Turks, then the king of Elephants, king of Hind, then the king of Rūm.

*Mas'ūdī* gives practically the same information as *Abū Zayd*, the only variation relevant to our point being that *Mas'ūdī* does not mention *Ibn Wahab* by name but refers to him simply as a man of *Qurayshite* origin, of the family of *Habbār*, son of *Aswad*.

*Mas'ūdī* acknowledges his source of information, saying that *Abū Zayd Muḥammad Ibn Yazīd* of *Sīrāf* gave him an account of *Ibn Habbār* of *Baṣra*, in 303 A.H. (915 A.D.).

*King Najāba*<sup>75</sup> :

The name of the king *Najāba* is mentioned by *Ibn Rusta* just after *Tāfin*. *Najāba* is a noble king, and there is intermarriage between his family and that of the *Balharās*. They are *Salūqiyyas* سلوقيون and never marry except in their own community, because of their nobility. The breed of dog known as *Salūqiyya* سلوقية is from this country. Red sandal wood is found in their cities and forests.

*King Qayranj*<sup>76</sup> :

*Sulaymān* says that after the kingdom of *Kāshbīn* comes the sea, and the land adjoining the sea is the territory of the king *Qayranj*.<sup>77</sup> He is a poor but proud king. The sea throws a large quantity of 'anbar. He has elephant tusks and pepper in his territory. The people eat pepper green because of the small quantity available there.

75. نجابة

76. القيرنج Sulaymān.

الفرنج Barbier,—*Mas'ūdī*, p. 388 foot note on p. 403 says :

Le manuscrit L. porte الفتنج

77. Kiranj—Elliot—*Sulaymān*, Vol. I, p. 5.

*Mas'ūdī* mentions the king Faranj<sup>78</sup> after the king Kāman. Faranj has power both on land and sea. His territory is on a tongue of land which stretches into the sea from whence large quantities of 'anbar are obtained. The country produces a little pepper. The king has a large number of elephants. He is brave, vain and proud; but he has more vanity than power and more pride than courage.

*Qumar*<sup>79</sup> :

*Ibn Khurdādhbeh*, *Ya'qūbī*, *Ibnul Faqīh*, *Ibn Rusta*, *Abū Zayd*, *Mas'ūdī*, *Abul Faraj*, *Yāqūt* and *Qazwīnī*, all these nine writers speak about Qumār.

*Qumar*—its position :

*Ibn Khurdādhbeh* : Proceeding from Māyṭ the island of Tayūma comes on the left; thence to Qumār five day's journey. From Qumār to Ṣanf on the coast is three days' journey.

*Ya'qūbī* mentions Qumār after Sarandib and says that Qumār is a powerful kingdom of great importance.

*Ibnul Faqīh* has the remark that Qumār is part of Hind.

*Abū Zayd* gives more precise information. Qumār, he says, is not an island but is situated (on that part of the continent of India) which faces the country of the Arabs. It is opposite to the

78. The neighbour of the king el-Kās is the 'king of el-Farbikh

فُرْج الفُرْج or الفُرْج الفُرْج (Kāmirūs?) Sprenger—*Mas'ūdī*, p. 393.

79. *قُمَّار* *Abū Zayd*, *Mas'ūdī*, *Qazwīnī*, *Abul Faraj*.

*قُمَّار* *Ibn Khurdādhbeh*, *Ya'qūbī*, *Ibnul Faqīh*, *Yāqūt*.

*قُمَّار* *Ibn Rusta*.

kingdom of the *Maharāj*,<sup>80</sup> the island known as *Zābaj*, the distance between the two is about ten or twenty days' journey by sea in moderate wind.

*Mas'ūdī* has the same account with slight variation. The country of *Qumār* is not one of the islands of the sea but it is a coastal land and is mountainous. It is opposite to the kingdom of the *Maharāj*,<sup>81</sup> the king of the islands like *Zābaj*, *Kalah*, *Sarandib* and other islands.

In another place<sup>82</sup> *Mas'ūdī* says that *Qumār* is opposite to the islands of the *Maharāj* as *Mandūrfīn* is opposite to the island of *Sarandib*.

*Yāqūt* and *Qazwīnī* say that *Qumār* is a place in Hind associated with aloes. But *Yāqūt* qualifies his statement by saying that it is the popular view; those who have knowledge say that *Qumār* is *Qāmirūn*, a place in Hind, well known for best quality of aloes.<sup>83</sup> They say that this quality will have a seal by which it is distinguished.

*Extent of the kingdom :*

*Ibnul Faqīh* is the only writer who says that the extent of the kingdom of *Qumār* is about four months' journey.

*Abū Zayd* says that there is no kingdom which has a more dense population than *Qumār*. Here everyone walks on foot.

80. "Le Comar est dans la direction du royaume *Maharadja*." *Reinaud, Relation des voyages*, p. 97.

81. "Il est sur le chemin des Etats du *Maharaja*." *Barbier—Mas'ūdī*, Vol. I, p. 170.

82. *Barbier—Mas'ūdī*, Vol. I, p. 394.

83. This detail of news given by *Yāqūt* appears to be a mistake. He is confusing *Qāmirūn* (Assam) with *Qumār*.

*People :*

Mas'ūdī gives more particulars about the people of Qumār. He says a race of the people of Hind who descended from Adam, derive their origin from the children of Cain. They inhabit that part of Hind which is called Qumār.

Few parts in Hind are more populous than this and the inhabitants distinguish themselves before other people of Hind by their agreeable breath, which they acquire by rubbing their teeth with tooth stick,<sup>84</sup> as it is the habit among the Muslims.

The inhabitants of Qumār mostly go on foot because their country is full of mountains and valleys, few plains and table lands.

Ibnul Faqīh says that the people of Qumār worship idols.

Ibn Rusta has the remark that the origin of devotees is from Qumār. It is said that there are in Qumār one hundred thousand devotees.

Abul Faraj states on the authority of Abū Dulaf that there is a temple belonging to the people of Hind at Qumār whose walls are of gold and its ceiling of aloes wood, each beam being fifty cubits or more in length.

*Drinking and Fornication :*

Ibn Khurdādhbeh, Ibnul Faqīh, Ibn Rusta, and Qazwīnī say that drinking and fornication are unlawful in the kingdom of Qumār.<sup>85</sup>

84. سواد

'With aloes wood,' Sprenger—*Mas'ūdī*, p. 186.

85. For details of punishment prescribed by the king of Qumār and administration of justice, see Chapter II, in this book.

Abū Zayd gives the same information as Ibn Khurdādhbeh and others, but has the additional remark that there is no wine in their land and kingdom.

Ibn Rusta quotes Abū 'Abdullāh Muḥammad Ibn Ishāq who says "I happened to go to the city of the king of Qumār and stayed there for two years. I found no monarch more zealous and severe than he against the vice of drinking. He punishes with death those who drink or commit fornication."

Mas'ūdī relates that the inhabitants of Qumār consider, like the Muslims, fornication to be unlawful and they avoid (like them) uncleanliness and wine. In the observance of this custom they are one with the rest of the people in Hind.

*King :*

Ya'qūbī says that the king of Qumār receives homage from many other kings.

Ibnul Faqih remarks that the king of Qumār maintains four thousand slave girls.

Ibn Rusta quotes a traveller who says: "I had been to the city of the king of Qumār. I was told that the king of Qumār is a powerful man, very severe in his punishment. He has no dealings with the Arabs. Whoever enters his city and makes a present of anything to him, he returns it in a hundredfold of what he gave. I have never seen a king who gives greater reward than the king of Qumār. The king has eighty sons, all beautiful and with a dignity and bearing suited to their rank."

The king of Qumār, in spite of his rigour, would say to his companions, "When you set out for war, do not take women with you."<sup>86</sup>

86. As the text seems to be faulty I do not attempt to translate the succeeding passage in the text. See Ibn Rusta, p. 133, ll. 18-19.

Abū Zayd says that the king of Qumār and his companions carry tooth brushes and every man cleans his teeth several times a day. Each one carries his own brush on his person and never parts from it unless he entrusts it to his servant.

Abū Zayd and Mas'ūdī give the following long account<sup>87</sup> of the story of an invasion of Qumār by the Maharāja, the king of Zābaj.

One of the most curious stories of the kings of Hind and a strange example of their line of conduct and their institutions in ancient times is exhibited in this narration. It is told that a young and hasty man ruled over Qumār in ancient times. One day he sat on the throne in his palace which stood on a large river of sweet water like the Tigris and the Euphrates, and was one day's journey from the sea. The wazīr was with the king who said to him : "The fame of the empire of the Maharāj, his power and prosperity and the number of islands under him are celebrated. This excites a desire in my mind which I wish to realise." The wazīr, a prudent man, who knew the rashness of his master, asked him, "What is thy desire, O! king ?" "I wish," replied the king, "to see the head of the Maharāj, the king of Zābaj, in a basin before me." The wazīr saw that envy had inspired him with these thoughts and he said, after some consideration: "I do not think the king will permit this idea to rest in his mind as there has never existed any difference between us and that nation, neither of yore nor of late, nor have they ever done us any harm. Besides they are in islands, far from us, and by no means neighbours, nor have they any design against our possessions. The distance between the dominions of the Maharāj and those of Qumār is from ten to twenty days across the sea. It is therefore better, O! king," continued the wazīr, "not to acquaint anyone with this thought and not to persist in this scheme."

87. There is great similarity between the accounts of the two writers. The translation is done from the text of Mas'ūdī.

The king was enraged and shut his ears to advice. He acquainted his officers and the chiefs of his men who were present, with his project, and so it was divulged and went from tongue to tongue till it reached the Maharāj who was a prudent, experienced and middle-aged man.

He called his wazīr, and told him what he had heard, and said to him: "Considering the project of this ignorant man which has come to publicity, and the intentions which he has formed with his inexperienced and overbearing spirit, and after his words have become generally known, we can no longer preserve peace with him. He has forfeited the crown and deserves to be deposed." The king commanded him to hide what had passed between them and to prepare a thousand medium-sized ships with full equipment, to provide them with the arms necessary and to man them with a sufficient number of the best soldiers. He pretended that these preparations were meant for an excursion into his islands, and he wrote to the kings of these islands who were under his sway, and his subjects, that he had the intention of paying them a visit and of making an excursion to their islands.

This rumour spread and the king of every island made all possible preparations for the reception of the Maharāj. When everything was ready and in order, he went on board, and sailed with the army to the kingdom of Qumār. The king of Qumār was not aware of the expedition before it came up to the river which led to the royal palace. The Maharāj defeated his army, took his commanders by surprise and captured the palace. The inhabitants appeared before the Maharāj. He ordered "quarter" to be proclaimed, and sat on the throne on which the king of Qumār used to sit, who was now a prisoner, and commanded to bring the king and his wazīr into his presence.

He said to the king: "What gave rise to these intentions which are beyond your power? Had you attained them you would have

had no luck in them, no hope of success compelled you to do this." He remained silent.

"If your desire," continued the Maharāj, "to see my head before you in a dish had been joined with the intention of making yourself master of my dominions and the throne, and of spreading destruction in any part of the country, I should do the same thing to you. But you have distinctly expressed your object, and I will do it on you, and I will return to my country without stretching my hand to anything in your kingdom whether small or great; that you shall be an example for posterity, that none may transgress the portion Providence has given to him, and that he may gain safety from the existence of this warning."

Then he beheaded him. Turning to the wazir, he said: "May you be rewarded with good as a wazir! I know you gave your lord advice. Would that he had taken it! Consult who may be most fit to succeed this ignorant man and put him on the throne."

The Maharāj returned immediately to his country, and neither he nor anybody of his army touched anything in the kingdom of Qumār.

When the Maharāj returned to his dominions, he sat on his throne, overlooking the bay, called the bay of the ingot of gold, and before him was placed the dish with the head of the king of Qumār. He assembled the great men of his kingdom, narrated to them his exploits, and the reason which had brought him under the necessity of undertaking them. The subjects prayed for his welfare and for good reward from the Almighty.

Then he gave orders to wash the head of the king of Qumār, to embalm it and to send it in a vase to the king who had succeeded him in Qumār and he wrote to him: "The motive of our treatment of your predecessor was his evil-intentions against us, and our desire to teach those like him. We have done to him what he wanted, and we think it fit to send his head back to you as there is no use in keeping it, for this trophy would not add to the glory of our victory."

The news of this action reached the ears of the kings of Hind and China and the Maharāj rose greatly in their estimation, and since that time, the kings of Qumār turn their faces every morning towards Zābaj, and prostrate themselves to express their veneration for the Maharāj.

R. Of the nine writers who mention Qumār, only three give precise details as to its location. The information of Ibn Khurdādhbeh shows clearly that Qumār is an island between Jāba and Ṣanf. The accounts of Abū Zayd and Mas'ūdī indicate that it must refer to the area round about Cape Comorin including the portion of Travancore south of Quilon. The details furnished by the remaining six writers are vague.

It is also clear that these authors confuse Qumār with other places. Yāqūt confuses Qumār with Qāmarūn (Assam). Both Abū Zayd and Mas'ūdī narrate at great length, what appears to be a legend of an invasion of Qumār territory by the Mahārāja of Zābaj (Java) for the purpose of punishing the king of Qumār who spoke ill of the Mahārāja. This Mahārāja may be identified with one of the rulers of the line of Śrī Bhōja Mahārāja, ruler of Java mentioned by I-Tsing, a Chinese traveller in the last quarter of the seventh century A.D., who speaks of the Mahārāja of Jāva, in whose court he lived for some years. If Qumār is the area round about Cape Comorin, the king of Qumār must refer to one of the Pāṇḍya kings. But as the invasion of the Pāṇḍyan territory by an island king is not attested by facts of history, the account, is without doubt, a mistake or confusion on the part of these two writers. Perhaps they might have confused Qumār with Khummayr (Cambodia).

The subject requires further investigation.



## CHAPTER IV

### INTRODUCTION

Almost all the writers give information on the products of Southern India except Sulaymān and Abul Faraj, authors of the first group. They mention about thirty kinds of products. Of the places discussed in Chapter I—Geography, twenty-seven cities are associated with one or more products :

Thirteen articles of trade are associated with Kawlam ; twelve with Sandān ; eight with Saymūr ; five with Sūbāra ; four with Kanja ; three with Bullin and Tāna ; two with Broach, Pantalāyini and Madura and one thing only with each of the remaining seventeen places.

Thus the main centres of trade appear to have been Kawlam, Sandān, Saymūr and Sūbāra on the west coast and Kanja and Madura on the east coast of India.

The chief commodities are rice and pepper, associated with eight places, bamboos with six, cocoanuts with five, bananas and teak with three.

It may be noticed in this connection that the important trade centres of Southern India, deduced from the Arab accounts, happen to be more or less the same frequented by the Greek and the Roman merchants in ancient times.



## **CHAPTER IV**

## **PRODUCTS**



## LIST OF PRODUCTS

### Aloe :

Seven writers—*Ibn Khurdādhbeh*, *Ya'qūbī*, *Abū Zayd*, *Mas'ūdī*, *Idrīsī*, *Yāqūt*, *Qazwīnī*,—describe various qualities of aloes.

*Ibn Khurdādhbeh* mentions (1) *Hindī aloe*, (2) *Qumārī aloe*, (3) *Şanfī aloe*, and (4) *Qāmarūnī aloe*.

Leaving Māyt which is not very far from Jāba, the island of Tayūma is reached, where *Hindī aloe* is available. From Tayūma to Qimār is five days' journey where *Qumārī aloe* is procured. From Qimār to Şanf on the coast three days' journey. *Şanfī aloe* obtained here is better than the *Qumārī aloe* for it sinks in water because it is good and heavy.

*Qāmarūnī aloe* : See under Samandar.

*Ya'qūbī* mentions (1) *Qumārī aloe*, (2) *Qāqullī aloe*, (3) *Şanfī aloe*.

*Qumārī aloe* (is a quality) which is full grown and well-soaked in abundant water.

After *Qāqullī<sup>1</sup>* aloe ranks the *Şanfī aloe*, imported from the town Şanf in the direction of China. *Şanfī aloe* is a good quality preserving its smell on clothes. There are some who hold it more excellent than *Qāqullī aloe*, and think that it has a more pleasant smell, clinging and safe from attracting others by its odour. There are also some who rank it above the *Qumārī aloe*.

*Abū Zayd* mentions *Qumārī aloe*, and *Hindī Qāmarūnī aloe*.

*Qumārī aloe* is exported from a place called Qumār.<sup>2</sup>

1. قافلی

2. See under Qumār.

Some of the pilgrims to Multan carry with them *Hindī-Qāmarūnī aloe*.<sup>3</sup> Qāmrūn is a city where they have an excellent quality of aloe wood which they bring as an offering to the idol and give it to the priests for the purpose of censing the idol. This quality of aloe costs about two hundred *dīnārs* per *mann*. Often a seal is put upon this to distinguish it from other varieties. Generally the merchants purchase this quality of aloe from the priests.

Mas'ūdī says that from the kingdom of Qumār and the tract of Hind<sup>4</sup> the *Qumārī aloe* has its name. It is exported from that place.

In another place<sup>5</sup> he says that the greatest part of the revenue of the king of Multan comes from the rich presents of genuine *Qumārī aloe*, one *mann* of which is worth two hundred *dīnārs*, for it is so genuine that it receives the impression of seal like wax.

Idrīsī mentions aloe wood from Kārmūt.<sup>6</sup>

Yāqūt gives a few details about aloes and mentions different varieties such as (1) *Mandal-Qāmarūnī aloe*, (2) *Hindī aloe*, (3) *Qumārī aloe*, (4) *Şanfī aloe* and (5) *Saymūrī aloe*.

He says that generally aloes come from islands situated beyond the equator. No one has visited these plantations and hence no one knows how aloes are planted nor what the tree is. No one has described the shape of the aloes' leaves; the water brings them in the direction of the north. What is torn off and cast ashore is picked up fresh at Kalah, at Qāmrūn, or in the Country of pepper or at Şanf, or at Qamārayān, or at other places along the coast.

3. العود الهندى القامرونى p. 130.

4. صبح من ارض الهند Barbier, p. 168.

5. Barbier—Mas'ūdī, p. 376.

6. See under Samandar.

When the north wind blows the aloes, which retain their freshness and never wither are known as *Mandalī Qāmarūnī aloes*.<sup>7</sup>

The aloe which dries in the sea and is thrown ashore in a withered condition is known as *Hindī aloe*. It is solid and heavy. To put it to test, it is filed and thrown upon water; if it does not sink in water, it is not choice quality. If it sinks in water, it is pure quality and there is nothing better than that.

Aloes which are dried where they are grown and are torn in the sea are called *Qumārī aloes*.

Those which decayed where they are grown and brought by the sea in the decayed condition are called *Şanfī aloes*.

In another place<sup>8</sup> Yāqūt says that Şanf, a place in Hind or Sind, is associated with aloe. It is bad quality.

The kings along the shore take a tenth of the quantity of aloes from those who pick them up on the beaches.

Qazwīnī gives some of the general details on aloes mentioned by Yāqūt and distinguishes the varieties as (1) *Qumārī aloe*, (2) *Mandalī aloe* and (3) *Qāmarūnī aloe*, and (4) *Şanfī aloe*.

*Qumār* is associated with *Qumārī aloe*. It is the best quality.

The aloe obtained in *Mandal*<sup>9</sup> is called *Mandalī aloe*. It does not grow there. No one has reached the place where it grows. They

## 7. العود الوطیب المعروف بالمندل القامرونی

It appears that Yāqūt is mixing up *Mandal* a city, with *Qāmarūn* (Assam).

8. Yāqūt, *Marāṣid-al-ittilā'* Vol. II, p. 169.

9. See under *Mandal*.

say it grows in islands beyond the equator. Water brings it to the north.

That which falls off when it is tender, and retains its freshness, when the north wind blows on it, it is called *Qāmarī* aloe.

That which is dry and cast ashore in that condition is *Mandalī* aloe. It is heavy and hard. If the aloe sinks in water, it is the best quality and nothing is superior to it.

Şanf, a city in Hind or China is associated with aloe, but the Şanfī aloe is of a most inferior quality. There is very little difference between this and ordinary wood.<sup>10</sup>

Aloe wood is also brought to Kūlam from islands beyond the equator where no one has ever gone and seen the tree. Water brings it towards the north.

Of the various qualities of aloe mentioned by these authors, *Qumārī* aloe, *Mandalī* aloe, and *Saymūrī* aloe have direct bearing upon the present study while other details on aloe are brought in to show the contrast that prevails between the different varieties.

Six out of the seven writers mention *Qumārī* aloe. Ibn Khurdādhbeh states that it is inferior to Şanfī aloe<sup>11</sup> and Ya'qūbī also has the same view though it is based on the opinion of a few. But Mas'ūdī and Qazwīnī say that *Qumārī* aloe is the best quality. Abū Zayd has no remark on its quality, while Yāqūt describes what *Qumārī* aloe is without comparing it with other varieties of aloe.

10. The same information is given by Yāqūt—*Mu'jam-al-Buldān*, Vol. III, p. 429.

11. According to Yāqūt and Qazwīnī, Şanfī aloe is of inferior quality.

It appears from Ibn Khurdādhbeh that *Qumārī aloe* is obtained from a place called *Qumār* situated between *Jāba* and *Şanf*. *Ya'qūbī* who describes the *Qumārī aloe* does not mention the place where it is obtained. *Mas'ūdī* and *Abū Zayd* definitely say that *Qumārī aloe* is obtained from *Qumār*, a part of the continent of India. *Yāqūt* and *Qazwīnī* merely state that *Qumārī aloe* is obtained from *Qumār*, a place in Hind. As it is not possible from the several accounts of these writers to locate *Qumār*, it becomes difficult to say definitely what these authors meant by the term *Qumārī aloe*, whether it is obtained in *Khumayr* (Cambodia) or *Qāmarūn* (Assam) or in the area round about Cape Comorin, where even in the present day, as in the past, a large quantity of aloe is obtained. It is also noteworthy that the Tamil word *kumari* (குமரி) means 'wild aloe'.

*Mandalī aloe* is mentioned by only two writers *Yāqūt* and *Qazwīnī*, though the former mixes it up with *Qāmarūnī aloe*. *Yāqūt* describes what a *Mandalī aloe* is without mentioning the place where it is obtained, while *Qazwīnī* definitely says that *Mandalī aloe* is obtained in a city called *Mandal*, without giving any indication of its locality. *Qazwīnī* also has given a description of the *Mandalī aloe* which does not tally with that of *Yāqūt*.

*Saymūrī aloe* is mentioned only by *Yāqūt*.<sup>12</sup>

'*Anbar*'<sup>13</sup>:

*Ya'qūbī*, *Abū Zayd*, and *Mas'ūdī* give information on 'anbar'.

12. See under *Saymūr*.

R. For details about different varieties of aloe see *Dictionary of the Economic Products of India*, Vol. I, pp. 179-189.

13. *Ambergris*.

Ya'qūbī describes how the 'anbar' is obtained and mentions various kinds<sup>14</sup> of it, including 'anbar-hindī'.

They say that the 'anbar' comes from the sea. It is as big as the size of a camel or of a big rock. .... It is cut up by the wind and violence of the waves, and thrown on the coast. It will be boiling fiercely and none could approach it on account of the severity of heat and boiling. After a lapse of time wind beats on it and it becomes solidified. Then the people on the adjoining coastal land collect it. A number of men who know about 'anbar' reported to me as follows :

The 'anbar' is in mountains in the depths of the sea, and is of different colours. It is uprooted by wind and severe agitation of the sea during the winter season.... The 'anbar-hindī' is procured from the coast.<sup>15</sup> This 'anbar' is exported to Başra and other places. The 'anbar-zanjī' ranks after the 'anbar-hindī'; it resembles the 'anbar-hindī' and comes very near it. This is how Tamīmī has related in his book.<sup>16</sup> He places 'anbar-zanjī' after the 'anbar-shuhri', but he again ranks it after the 'anbar-hindī'.

14. (a) 'Anbar-shuhri' (the best quality)—procured on the coast of Shuhr.

(b) 'Anbar-samakī'—obtained through a fish.

(c) 'Anbar-manāqiri'—obtained through *khattāf* a kind of sparrow.

(d) 'Anbar-zanjī'—that which comes from the country of Zanj to Aden.

(e) 'Anbar-shalāhiṭ' and

(f) 'Anbar-qūqullī'.

15. The text reads مساحل الهند الداجنة. Perhaps it might have been a technical term current among the Arabs.

16. حبيب العروس

It is said that the 'anbar' which comes from Hind is called Karkbālūs,<sup>17</sup> associated with the name of a community known as Karkbālūs. They carry it to some place near 'Umān where the captains of ships buy it from them.

Abū Zayd has a few details on the origin of 'anbar' and describes some qualities<sup>18</sup> which do not comprise any special variety associated with Hind.

17. **اکبر بالوس** This name is not to be found in "Castes and Tribes of Southern India." But the word may be explained as follows: The first part is, doubtless, the Tamil *Karai* (கரை) 'coast' out of which many words are formed such as *Karaiyālan* (கரையாலன்) (ruler of the coast) a title of the *maravans*; *Karayān* (கரையான்) a name for Tamil fishermen who live on the coast, etc. The latter part *bālūs* seems to be connected with *Pāl* (பால்) a word with a wide meaning in the Tamil language. The chief meanings are 'milk, matter, fluid in pustules, etc.' Here it may be taken to mean 'matter'. Both the parts put together may be understood "the matter found on the coast". This may be ambergris as it is generally found floating on the surface of the sea along the coast. Thus Karkbālūs of the Arabs seems to be a combination of *Karai* and *Pāl*, though its formation is against the ordinary rules of Tamil Grammar. *Ambar* (அம்பர்) is used in Tamil to denote ambergris, and there is no word in the Dravidian languages, so far as I am aware, as Karkbalus, meaning either Ambergris or denoting the name of a community which deals in that. Perhaps the word 'Karkbālūs' originally, at some remote time, meant ambergris, and in the course of constant intercourse with the Arabs and other foreigners the original expression fell out of use giving place to the foreign idiom. The point needs further investigation.

18. (1) *First quality* of 'anbar': It is found on the Berberian coast, territory of Zanj, and along the coast of Shuhr. It is oval in shape and blue in colour.

(2) *Whale 'anbar'*: It is obtained through whale, the quality of which is determined by its contiguity to the belly of the whale.

'Anbar is a substance from the sea, thrown along the coast by waves. It commences from the sea of Hind but it is not definitely known whence it comes.

*Mas'ūdī* after describing some qualities<sup>19</sup> of 'anbar, says that several merchants, at Sirāf and 'Umān, who had travelled to the island between the sea of Harkand and the sea of Lārawī told me that the 'anbar grows in the bottom of this sea and is of various sorts as there are different kinds of resin.<sup>20</sup> It is white, black and of dark bay colour.<sup>21</sup>

### **Bamboo :**

#### **(a) Qannā :**

*Ibn Khurdādhbeh*, *Idrīsī*, *Yāqūt*, *Qazwīnī*, *Dimishqī* and *Abul Fidā* give information on *Qannā*.

*Ibn Khurdādhbeh* : See under *Kawlam* (*Mulay*), *Sandān* and *Ūtkīn*.

*Mas'ūdī* and *Dimishqī* : See under *Barūs*.

19. (1) *The best quality* : It is found on the coast of *Shuhr*, on the islands and coasts of *Zanj*.

(2) *Whale 'anbar* : It is obtained through whale, the purity of its quality depends upon its contiguity to the belly of the whale.

20. قبار *gum-resin*. Sprenger translates the word as 'Agalloche' (Agalloch). Sprenger—*Mas'ūdī*, p. 350.

21. The text has *الكلمات*. The correct word is *الكلمنت* a red colour mixed with blackness.

'Spongy,' Sprenger—*Mas'ūdī*, p. 350.

'Champignons' Barbier—*Mas'ūdī*, p. 336.

R. For details about ambergris, see *Dictionary of the Economic Products of India*, Vol. I, p. 217.

Idrīsī: See under Kūlī (Daybul), Sandān, Saymūr and Tāna.

Yāqūt and Qazwīnī: *Qannā* grows in abundance in Kūlam.<sup>22</sup>

\* Abul Fidā: See under Sandān and Tāna.

(b) *Khayzurān* : \*

Idrīsī, Yāqūt, Qazwīnī and Abul Fidā mention *Khayzurān*.

Idrīsī: See under Sandān.

Yāqūt and Qazwīnī: *Khayzurān* grows in abundance in Kūlam.

Abul Fidā: See under Sandān.

(c) *Tabāshīr* : †

The same authors who mention *Khayzurān* speak of *Tabāshīr*.

Idrīsī: *Tabāshīr* is extracted from the roots of *qannā*.<sup>23</sup> The *tābāshīr* is adulterated by mixing it with the burnt bones of elephants, but the real article is extracted from the roots of the Indian *qannā*, called *sharkī*,<sup>24</sup> as we have already said.

22. See also under Mandari.

\* خیزران *Indian bamboo*. Muhammad Sharaf, *An English Arabic Dictionary of Medicine and allied Sciences*, p. 120.

† طباشیر

23. See under Tāna.

24. شرک

Yāqūt: In the forest,<sup>25</sup> when bamboos become dried up, and the wind blows on them, they rub against each other, excessive heat is produced by friction, and they catch fire and burn. Sometimes the fire consumes an area of about fifty parasangs or more of the forest.

The *tabāshīr*, taken from these bamboos is exported to all parts of the world. One *mithqāl* (in weight) of the best quality will equal one hundred *mithqāl* (of gold) or more.<sup>26</sup> *Tabāshīr* is a substance got from the hollow of the bamboo, when it is shaken. It is very precious. The adulterated quality of *tabāshīr* is carried to all parts and sold as *tūtiya hindī*,<sup>27</sup> but it is not so, for the real *tūtiya-hindī* is the sublimate of *qala'i* lead.<sup>28</sup> The quantity brought out every year is three or four *mann*, not exceeding five *mann*. One *mann* of that stuff will be sold from five thousand *dirham* to one thousand *dīnārs*.

Qazwīnī: After describing under *Mandūrqīn*, how the bam-

25. See under *Mandārī*.

ناما الطباشير المبيّد (الذى يساوى مثقاله مائة مثقال او أكثر)  
26. *Yāqūt*, Vol. III, p. 455.

27. See *Yāqūt*, Vol. III, p. 455.

لأن التوتيا الهندي هو دخان الرصاص الطلقى  
28. *Yāqūt*, Vol. III, p. 455.

الرصاص الطلقى Tin. See Dozy, s.v.

boos catch fire,<sup>29</sup> he says that *tabāshīr* is the cinders of the bamboos that were burnt, and is exported to all countries.

Abul Fidā : See under Tāna.

29. The description is the same as given by Yāqūt.

R. قنّا or قنة ferule.....

شبیهہ فی شکلها بالقنا و هو أکلخ  
القنا و هو أکلخ

p. 414 Dozy

Communis (Latin)

Ferule (French)

Giant Fennel (English)

قنا - قلق - ملح

Dictionnaire des Noms des Plantes

par Dr. Ahmed Issa Bey.

Kanā قنّا Ferula communis

German translation of *Ibn-al-Baytār* by

Dr. Joseph V. Sontheimer, Vol. II, p. 326.

Rohtang—French translation De Goeje—*Ibn Khurdādhbeh*, p. 43.

All these authorities have translated the word *qannā* as 'ferule' and 'rotang'. But it is a mistake, for the Arab writers say definitely that *tabāshīr* is got from *qannā*. As *tabāshīr*, a siliceous and crystalline substance, is found in the interior of the hollow stems of some bamboos, chiefly *bambusa arundinaceae*, *qannā* must mean a kind of bamboo. The Tamil word, in Watt's *Economic Products of India*, for *tabāshīr* is *mūngaluppu* (மூங்கலுப்பு) (*mūngal*=bamboo+*uppu*=salt). Thus it is clear that *qannā* must be translated as a kind of bamboo. The description of *qannā* forests by Yāqūt supports this view.

It may also be noticed that *qannā* does not appear to be an Arabic word. It might have had its origin from the Hindi word *gannā* گنہ Prakrit *ganduō*, and Sanskrit *gañdaka*—sugarcane, *saccharum officinarum*; a reed, a cane. See Platts, *Hindustani Dictionary*.

For an account of the various species of bamboo and the history and variety of *tabāshīr*—see Watt, *Economic Products of India*, Vol. I, pp. 370-394.

*Banana:*

*İştak

---

rī*, *Ibn Hawqal*, *Maqdisī* and *Idrīsī* give information on Banana.

*İştak

---

rī* group: See under *Sandān* and *Saymūr*.

*Idrīsī*: See under *Bullīn*, (Island *Baliq*.)

*Baqqam tree*<sup>30</sup> (Brazil wood) :

*Idrīsī*, *Yāqūt*, *Qazwīnī* and *Abul Fidā* speak of the *baqqam* tree.

*Idrīsī*: The *baqqam* tree<sup>31</sup> grows in abundance in *Lūluwā* and *Kanja*.<sup>32</sup> The plant of this tree resembles oleander.<sup>33</sup>

*Yāqūt*: The *baqqam* tree grows in *Kūlam*. There are two kinds of it; one is of inferior quality, the other called *amrūn*<sup>34</sup> is excellent.

*Qazwīnī*: In *Kūlam* the *baqqam* tree grows in abundance.

30. شجرة البرعم Brazil wood (Caesalpina).

Muhammad Sharaf, *Arabic-English Dictionary*.

البرعم, Yāqūt.

Compare: Persian—Bakam



Hindi—Bakkam



31. 'Sapan wood'—Elliot, Vol. I, p. 90.

32. See under *Kaylkān*, *Lawā* and *Kanja*.

33. د فنی Idrīsī Bod. MSS.

34. الامرون

**Abul Fidā:** The *baqqam* tree is found in Kawlam. It resembles the pomegranate tree<sup>35</sup> and its leaves are like those of the jujube tree.<sup>36</sup>

**Camphor<sup>37</sup>:**

**Yāqūt:** Camphor is found on the slope of a mountain between Kūlam and Mandūrqīn (Madura). Camphor is the pulp of the tree. If the tree is split in the middle, the camphor will be found hidden in it. Sometimes it is soft, sometimes hard, for it is a resin in the heart of the tree.

**Qazwīnī:** Camphor is exported from Faysūr.<sup>38</sup> It is the best quality. It is said that camphor is found in large quantities in the years when there is much thunder, lightning and earthquake. In less tempestuous years the camphor is found in smaller quantities.

They say that the camphor tree grows on the slope of the mountain of Kāfūr. The tree is split and camphor is taken from inside. It is a gum of that tree not found except in its inside. If the bark is injured the camphor will flow from inside ; if it is cleft, great pieces may be obtained from the interior, but the tree will wither and die.

**Cardamom<sup>39</sup>:**

**Idrīsī:** Cardamom grows in the mountain north of

35. شجرة الارمان

36. غناب (Rhamnus Zizyphus).

37. فرب The Arabic form of P. Kāpūr, S. Karpūr.  
Tam. *Karpūram* (காபுரம்)

38. See under Faysūr.

39. قاتلہ

R. For a description of the plant and its varieties see Watt, *Economic Products of India*, Vol. I, pp. 220-2.

**Fandarīna**<sup>40</sup> (It grows like the grains of hemp and the grains are enclosed in pods.)<sup>41</sup>

**Cinnamon**<sup>42</sup>:

Yāqūt and Qazwīnī give information about cinnamon. See under Jājulla.

**Clove**<sup>43</sup>:

Ya'qūbī: Cloves are of one genus. The best and the most

40. See under Fandarīna.

41. The sentence is taken from Elliot's translation, Vol. I, p. 90. Idrīsī's MSS. are not quite clear. The text reads thus:

وَنَبَاتٌ الْعَاقِلَةُ يَكُونُ أَشْهَدُ الْأَشْيَاءِ بِنَبَاتِ النَّدَاجِ

وَلَهَا مَارِدٌ فِيهَا بَزْرٌ هَا Idrīsī, Poc. 375.

الشَّهْدَاجُ Gr. 45.

شَهْدَاجُ B. N. Paris.

وَلَهَا مَزَارِعٌ فِيهَا بَزْرٌ هَا Gr. 45.

وَلَهَا مَزَارِعٌ فِيهَا بَزْرٌ هَا B. N. Paris.

شَبَرَةُ الْمَدَارِصِينِي

R. **دارصيني** is from the Hindi word *dār-chīnī*, S. *dāru-chīniya*; *dāru*=bark (lit.) wood=timber, *chīniya*, from China. For particulars see Watt, *Dictionary of Economic Products of India*, Vol. 2, pp. 317-326.

43. قرآنفل

R. Platts, in his *Hindustani Dictionary* says that *qaranful* is the arabicized form of a Greek word. But the Tamil word for clove is *kirāmbu* கிராம்பு. It is not easy to say whether the Arabs got the word from the Greeks or Tamils. It is more likely that the Greeks and Arabs might have got the word from the Tamils.

excellent kind is the *zuhr* زهر which is strong, arid, dry, sharp, pungent to taste and sweet to smell. Some of it is *zuhr*; some of it is *thamr* ثمر. The *zuhr* of it is small and resembles in appearance the twigs of black hellebore.<sup>44</sup> The *thamr* of it is thick and resembles the kernel of the date or the olive.<sup>45</sup> It is said that it is the fruit of a big tree resembling the lote tree.<sup>46</sup>

They report that it is exported from Sufālat-al-Hind (Sūbāra) and its further regions.<sup>47</sup>

#### Cocoanuts<sup>48</sup>:

*İştak

---

rī*, *Ibn Hawqal*, *Maqdisī* and *Idrīsī* mention cocoanuts.

*İştak

---

rī* group: See under Sandān and Saymūr.

*Idrīsī*: See under Bullīn (Island Balīq), Lūlū, Kanja, Sandān (Island of Sandān), Saymūr, Sūbāra (Island Tāra).

#### Costus<sup>49</sup>:

*Idrīsī* and *Abul Fidā* mention Costus.

*Idrīsī*: See under Sūbāra.

*Abul Fidā*: See under Sandān.

44. الخمرق الاسود

45. نوى التمر او عجم الزيتون

46. شجر السند

47. من بلاد سقالة الهند و اقاصيها

48. نار جيل

49. قسطل Comp. Bengali, Küst.

Ya'qūbī, *Fragmenta*, p. 369.

For particulars on Costus, see W. Heyd, *Histoire du Commerce du Levant*; Vol. II, p. 611 and Watt, *Dictionary of Economic Products*, p. 579, Vol. II.

*Crystal*<sup>50</sup>:

*Ibn Khurdādhbeh*: Crystal is obtained from Mulay and Sandān.<sup>51</sup>

*Date Tree*<sup>52</sup>:

*Sulaymān*: See under 'Fruits.'

*Ibnul Faqih*: There are no date palms in China and Hind.

*Idrīsī*: See under Sandān (Island Sandān).

*Fabrics—Lānas*,<sup>53</sup> *Tānshiyya*<sup>54</sup>:

*Abul Fidā*: See under Ma'bar and Tāna.

*Fruits*<sup>55</sup>:

*Sulaymān* and *Idrīsī* speak of fruits.

*Sulaymān*: There are no date trees either in China or in Hind, but they have other trees and fruits which we do not have. There are no grapes<sup>56</sup> in Hind, but the Chinese have a few. They have other kinds of fruits in plenty. But in Hind pomegranate<sup>57</sup> is the commonest.

50. بُلُور from Persian بُلُور Beryl, Crystal.

51. See de Goeje—*Ibn Khurdādhbeh*, foot note (a) p. 71.

52. انْجَل Idrīsī, Bod. MSS.

53. لَانْس

54. شَابَاتِنْسِيَه

55. شَعْر Sulaymān

نَكْعَه Idrīsī

56. عَنْب

57. الْرَّمَان

*Idrīsī* : See under *Kaylkān*, *Lawā* and *Kanja*.

*Honey*<sup>58</sup>:

*Iṣtakhrī*, *Ibn Hawqal* and *Maqdisī* : See under *Sandān* and *Saymūr*.

*Mango*<sup>59</sup>:

*Iṣtakhrī*, *Ibn Hawqal* and *Maqdisī* mention mango. See under *Sandān* and *Saymūr*.

*Mines—Sulphur*,<sup>60</sup> *Copper*<sup>61</sup> (*Tūtiya*)<sup>62</sup>.

*Yāqūt* : In *Kūlam* there is a mine of yellow sulphur and of copper. The coagulated vapour of copper makes excellent *tūtiya*. All kinds of *tūtiya* are obtained from the coagulated vapour of

58. عسل

59. انج

R. *Anbaj* is not an Arabic word as Steingass would have it in his *Persian-English Dictionary*. It is from the Hindi word *amba* امبہ mango. The modern Arabic word for mango is مانجا - *manja* and *mānjū*. It is taken directly or indirectly from the Tamil *māngāi* மாங்காய் (col.) *mānga*, மாங்கா. The modern Egyptian pronunciation of *manjah* is exactly like the Tamil *māṅga*.

60. معدن الكبريت الا صفر

61. معدن النحاس

62. توتسيار

Comp. H. *tutiya* S. *tuttha*. Tamil (துத்து) *tuttam*, blue vitriol, sulphate of copper, tutty.

copper except the Indian *tūtiya* which is obtained as we have said, from the sublimation of *qala'i* lead.<sup>63</sup>

*Qazwīnī* mentions only the first two points of *Yāqūt*.

*Myrobalan*<sup>64</sup>:

*Yāqūt*: A small quantity of myrobalan is obtained in *Kūlam*. But the myrobalan obtained in Kabul is better, for this city is far from the sea and all kinds of myrobalan are found there.

That which is scattered by the wind from ripe tree is yellow, sour and cold; that which is plucked from the tree in the proper season is called *kābūlī*; it is sweet and hot; that which is left in the tree during winter till it becomes black, is called *al-aswad*,<sup>65</sup> it is bitter and hot.

*Pearls : Diving Places*<sup>66</sup>:

*Idrīsī*: See under *Sūbāra*.

*Dimishqī*: See under *Fūfal*.

*Pepper*:

*Ibn Khurdādhbeh*, *Ibnul Faqīh*, *Idrīsī*, *Yāqūt*, *Qazwīnī*; and *Dimishqī*—these six writers speak of pepper.

63. الرصاص القلعي

64. الـ هـ لـ لـ يـ

R. It is from Persian هـ لـ لـ *halīla*. S. *Haritak*, yellow myrobalan.

The Hindi word *Halij* هـ لـ يـ is a corruption of the P. *Halīla*.

65. الا سود

66. مناص اللـ لـ لـ

Ibn Khurdādhbeh : See under Kawlam (Mulay).

Ibnul Faqīh, in the course of enumerating the articles that come from different places, says that pepper comes from Mali and Sandān.

Idrīsī : See under Fandarīna, Jurbatan, Kawlam (Mali), Sandān (Malaq).

Yāqūt : See under Fāknūr, and Malibār.

Qazwīnī : See under Malibār.

Dimishqī : See under Barūš Kawlam (Mali) and Manjarūr.

Ibn Khurdādhbeh gives the following description of the pepper plant. The navigators report that over every bunch of pepper is a leaf which protects it from the rain. When the rain stops, the leaf raises itself up. But when it rains again, it comes back.

Idrīsī gives the identical information quoting Ibn Khurdādhbeh,<sup>67</sup> and also has additional facts. The pepper plant is a shrub,

67. The following is the passage from the edition of de Goeje—Ibn Khurdādhbeh, p. 63.

وذكر البحريون أن على كل عنقود من عناقيد الغلفل ورقه تكنته من المطر فإذا انقطع المطر اتفتحت الورقة فإذا عاد المطر عادت

Idrīsī, who quotes Ibn Khurdādhbeh has the following passage :

حکی ابن خردادبہ ان هنہ العناقيد اذ کان المطر اخخت ورقا تعلیہ  
وکنہ من المطر فإذا انقطع المطر اتفتحت الورق عن العناقيد فما تعاودہ  
الآن حین المطر فان عاد المطر عادت الورقة علیہا

Idrīsī Bod. MSS. and B. N. Paris.

This may show that Idrīsī had a better copy of the text of Ibn Khurdādhbeh.

having a trunk like that of the vine,<sup>68</sup> the leaf is like the convolvulus,<sup>69</sup> but longer ; it has bunches like those of the *shabūqa*,<sup>70</sup> each bunch of which is sheltered by a leaf from the rain, and the pepper is plucked when it is ripe. White pepper is what is gathered as it begins to ripen or even before.

Yāqūt quotes from Abū Dulaf who says : The pepper plant is a popular one<sup>71</sup> in Malibār. Water is always under it. When the wind blows the crop falls down and shrivels. The pepper is collected from above water, and the king puts a tax on it. It is a free plant without an owner. It always bears a crop both summer and winter. It is in bunches. When the sun is hot, a number of leaves cover up the bunch so that it may not be scorched by the sun. When the sun goes off it, these leaves go off.

Qazwīnī says that the pepper plant is a creeper.<sup>72</sup> There is no special owner. Water is always under it. Its fruit is in bunches. When the sun rises and grows hot the leaves get hold of the

- 68. عَرْبَش
- 69. لِبَاب
- 70. شَبُوْقَة
- 71. شَجَرَ عَادَى
- 72. شَجَرَ عَالِيَّة

R. Pepper plant is a creeper that winds round certain trees. It has leaves on either side of its stem. The bunches that bear fruit sprout between two leaves that grow one above the other on the same side. When it rains, the upper leaf, most exposed to the rain, gets wet, bends down by the weight of rain drops and rests on the bunch as it cannot bend farther and thus it appears to protect the bunch. The other leaf, below the bunch, also bends downward, but not too far as it is not very well exposed to rain drops. When the rain ceases the leaves get dry and resume their original position. Thus there is nothing surprising in this action of the leaves as

bunches, else the sun will scorch them before the fruit ripens. When the wind blows the bunches fall upon water and shrivel, and people collect them.

Abul Fidā: The pepper plant has bunches like those of the millet. Sometimes it winds round other trees like the pine.

*Perfumes:*

*Idrīsī* mentions aromatic plants.<sup>73</sup> See under *Saymūr*.

*Dimishqī* speaks of perfumes.<sup>74</sup> See under *Kawlam (Mali)*.

**Rhubarb (Rheum):<sup>75</sup>**

*Yāqūt* and *Qazwīnī* speak of rhubarb.

*Yāqūt*: Rhubarb of weak quality is obtained in *Kūlam*, while the better quality is from China. Rhubarb is a gourd<sup>76</sup> found

our authors make out to be. No harm will be done if the bunch is exposed to the sun or rain.

*Yāqūt* and *Qazwīnī* give a wrong description at the end of their accounts mixing the action of the leaves with the heat of the sun.

There is no particular variety as the white pepper. When the pepper is dried in the sun, the original green colour is changed into a sort of white colour.

73. *نباتات المطر* *Idrīsī*—Bod. MSS.

74. *أنواع البهار والصنف* *Dimishqī*, p. 159.

75. *راوند* *Yāqūt* and *Qazwīnī*.

Rheum (Gr.)=Rhubarb. *رَبِيع* - *رَادِنْد* - *رَيْوَنْد* Muhammad Sharaf,

*Arabic-English Dictionary of Medicine.*

76. *والراوند فرع يكون حناءك*

there. Its leaves are known as *al-Sādaj-al-Hindī*.<sup>77</sup> There is no cultivation in Kūlam except gourd from which rhubarb is obtained.<sup>78</sup> It is grown in the midst of thorny shrubs, and in like manner the melon<sup>79</sup> is cultivated. It is also excellent.

Qazwīnī has a few remarks that rhubarb is obtained in Kūlam. It is gourd that grows there. Its leaves, *al-Sādaj-al-Hindī* are held in high esteem as medicine for the eyes.

*Rice*<sup>80</sup> (*Corn*) (*Grain*):

*Ibn Khurdādhbeh*: See under Bābattan, Kanja, Samandar, Sinjī and Kabashkān.

*Iṣtakhrī group*: See under Sandān and Saymūr.

*Idrīsī*: See under Bullin (Island Balīq); Jurbatan, Kaylkān, Lawā and Kanja; Kūlī (Daybul) Samandar, Sinjī and Kabashkān.

77. ساج المندى

78. قلنسع فيها الا القرع انسى فيه الراوند Vol. III, p. 457.

79. بطيخ

R. It is evident from the foregoing account that Yāqūt and Qazwīnī are mixing up rhubarb with gourd; the former is the root of a plant called *rebas* and the latter is the fruit of the pumpkin plant. For details about medicinal rhubarb see Watt, *Dictionary of Economic Products*, pp. 485-8, and W. Heyd, *Histoire du Commerce du Levant*, Vol. II, p. 665.

80. حبت - حنطة - الارز

*abit* generally means wheat, sometimes corn. As wheat is not popularly grown in Southern India, the word is translated as corn and wheat, as it suits the context.

*Sandal Wood :*

*Ibn Rusta* mentions red sandal wood.<sup>81</sup> See under *Najaba*.

*Yāqūt* : See under *Mandarī*.

*Sandarac<sup>82</sup> :*

*Yāqūt* : A little sandarac of inferior quality is found in *Kūlam*. The better quality is found in *China*.<sup>83</sup> Sandarac resembles sulphur and is the most valuable of them.

*Sandals—Kanbāyan :*

*Mas'ūdī* : Creaking leather sandals are made in *Kanbāya*<sup>84</sup>

81. النيل الاحمر *Ibn Rusta*.

صندل *Yāqūt*.

82. سندروس

83. The text has the following sentence in the middle which is obviously corrupt.

(p. 455) وهي عين قنبرت على باب مد ينبعها الشرق

*Yāqūt*, Vol. III, p. 45.

R. Sandarac, a kind of resin, is said to resemble sulphur. There must be a mistake in the text.

84. النعال الكنبية الصرارحة

"Laced Kanbayan shoes." *Sprenger*, p. 278.

Barbier gives the following translation : "...sur le territoire de la ville de Cambaye, celebre par ses sandales, nominees Sandales de Cambaye qui y sont d'usage, ainsi que dans les villes voisines....", Vol. I, pp. 253-4.

R. There are various kinds of sandals used in Southern India :

orradī-c-ceruppu, ஓற்றடிச் செருப்பு sandals without heels

kiriccu-c-ceruppu, கிரிச்சுச் செருப்பு creaking sandals

kutti-c-ceruppu, குத்திச் செருப்பு sandals with thick soles

tōr-c-ceruppu, தோற் செருப்பு sandals with thin soles

and in the neighbouring towns like Sandān and Sūbāra. They are associated with the town of Kanbāya and known as Kanbayan sandals.

*Stone Magnetised :*

Yāqūt: Magnetised stone<sup>85</sup> is found in Kūlam. When it is heated by rubbing, it attracts all things.

There is also in Kūlam a kind of stone known as *sandāniyya*<sup>86</sup> used for roofing.

*Teak* 

Six writers mention teak.

*Ibn Khurdādhbeh*: See under Kamkam and Sandān.

*Ya'qūbī, Ibn Rusta*: See under Kamkam.

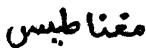
*Idrīsī*: See under Kamkam (Makamkam).

Yāqūt: The teak tree in Kūlam is huge and tall; it exceeds one hundred cubits and more.

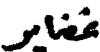
Qazwīnī gives the same information omitting the word 'huge'.

*Vases*<sup>87</sup>:

Yāqūt: Vases are made in Kūlam and sold in our countries as Chinese vases, but they are not Chinese, for the Chinese clay is harder than that and more fire resisting. The clay in this town from which they make vases resembles the Chinese clay. It is left

85.  

86.  

87.  

in the fire for three days and cannot be baked longer, while the Chinese clay rests in the oven for ten days and could be baked longer. Kūlam pottery is black in colour, but that which comes from China is white and of other colours, either translucent or not. It is manufactured in Persia from pebbles and *qala'i* lime, and glass which is smashed up into a paste and blown and worked with pincers giving it the shape of drinking cups and other shapes.

Qazwīnī repeats the first point mentioned by Yāqūt and concludes with the remark that Kūlam vases are black in colour, while those of China are white and of other colours.



## APPENDIX A

*Names of Arabic books and manuscripts consulted for compiling this work.*

Name of the work	Author	Editor
1. <i>Silsilat-al-Tawārikh</i> pp. 14-21, 26-32, 48-59.	Sulaymān	Langles
2. <i>Kitāb-al-Masālik wal-Mamālik</i> pp. 16, 39, 61-64, 66-68, 71-72.	Ibn Khurdādhbeh	M. J. de Goeje Pars Sexta
3. <i>Ibn Wādīh qui Dicitur al-Jaqqubi Historiae</i> pp. 93, 106.	Ya'qūbī	M. Th. Houtsma Pars Prior
4. <i>Fragmenta</i> pp. 366-367, 369.	Ya'qūbī	M. J. de Goeje Pars Septima
5. <i>Mukhtasar Kitāb al-Buldān</i> pp. 3, 11-16.	Ibnul Faqīh	M. J. de Goeje Pars Quinta
6. <i>Kitāb al-A'lāq al-Nafīsa</i> pp. 132-136, 138-139.	Ibn Rusta	M. J. de Goeje Pars Septima
7. <i>The second book of Silsilat al-Tawārikh</i> pp. 60-61, 77-79, 93-101, 115-122, 126-130, 138-139, 145-147.	Abu Zayd	Langles
8. <i>Kitāb Murūj al-Dhahab wa ma'ādin al-jawhar</i> pp. 72, 162-163, 167-175, 177-178, 207, 239, 253, 312, 314, 327-328, 335-336, 357, 372, 374, 376, 381- 389, 388, 390-394.	Mas'ūdī	*C. Barbier de Meynard Tome I.

Name of the work	Author	Editor
9. <i>Kitāb Masālik</i> <i>al-Mamālik</i> pp. 170-173, 176-180.	Iṣtak̄hri	M. J. de Goeje Pars Prima
10. <i>Kitāb al-Masālik</i> <i>wal-Mamālik</i> pp. 226-228, 231-235.	Ibn Ḥawqal	M. J. de Goeje Pars Secunda
11. <i>Kitāb Aḥsan</i> <i>al-Taqāsīm fi</i> <i>ma'rīfat al-aqālīm</i> pp. 477, 486.	Maqdīsī	M. J. de Goeje Editio Secunda 1906
12. <i>Kitāb al-Fihrist</i> pp. 346-349.	Abul Faraj	Gustav Flugel Book I 1871
13. <i>Kitāb fi Tahqīqi mā</i> Bīrūnī <i>lil Hindī min maqū-</i> <i>latin maqbūlatin fil</i> <i>aqlī aw mardhūlatin.</i>		Dr. Edward Sachau
14. <i>Kitāb Nuzhat</i> <i>al-Muṣhtāq fi ikhti-</i> <i>rāq al-āfāq</i> Ms. Poc. 375. Pp. 36, 43-47, 72-76, 78-80.	Idrīsī	Two MSS. One in the Bodleian Library, another in Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris
15. <i>Kitāb Mu'jam</i> <i>al-Buldān</i> Vol. I, pp. 505-506. Vol. III, pp. 429, 453-457. Vol. IV, p. 173.	Yāqūt	Ferdinand Wüstenfeld 1867
16. <i>Marāṣid al-Itṭilā'</i> Vol. II, pp. 169, 447.	Yāqūt	T. G. J. Juynboll
17. <i>Muṣhtariq</i> p. 358.	Yāqūt	Ferdinand Wüstenfeld

Name of the work	Author	Editor
18. <i>Kitāb āthār al-Bilād wa Akhbār al-‘Ibād</i> pp. 53, 64, 68-70, 82, 84-85.	Qazwīnī	Ferdinand Wüstenfeld 1848
19. <i>Kitāb ‘Ajā’ib al-Makh-lūqāt wa Gharā’ib al-Mawjūdāt</i> p. 171.	Qazwīnī	Ferdinand Wüstenfeld, 1849.
20. <i>Kitāb Nukhbāt al-Dahr fi ‘Ajā’ib al-Barr wal Bahr</i> pp. 19, 101, 159, 169-170, 172-174.	Dimishqī	M. A. F. Mehren Re-impression 1923
21. <i>Nihāyat-al-‘Arab fi funūn al-adab</i>	Nuwayrī	Published by Darul-Kutub Cairo, 1933
22. <i>Kitāb Taqwīm al-Buldān</i> pp. 353-361.	Abul Fidā	M. Reinaud
23. <i>Voyages of Ibn Baṭṭūta</i>	Ibn Baṭṭūta	G. Defremery Tome IV 1858

The relevant portions in these works are translated by the author into English.

The translations of some of these works by Elliot and Sprenger have been consulted, and variations by way of correction or addition are generally noticed in the footnotes in the course of this work.

The English translation of the Ibn Battūta's travels in Asia and Africa by H. A. R. Gibb, is quoted for purposes of reference in this work.

As the volumes published so far of the works of Nuwayrī (d. 1332) contain only a few references to India, these are noticed in the footnotes in their proper places.

As the names of the Arabic authors are too long, only such portions of their names which are familiar to scholars are given throughout this book. Even the *al* is omitted before some of these abridged forms so that the reader may take to the names in an easy manner.

## APPENDIX B

### *List of Places north of the Narbada river, India*

Place	Name of authōr mentioning same
<u>Aghbāb</u>	.. Ibn Rusta.
<u>Al-Arman</u>	.. Ibn Rusta.
<u>Asāwal</u>	.. Ibn Hawqal, Idrīsī.
<u>Barāz</u>	.. Ibn Rusta.
<u>Bazāna</u>	Dimishqī.
<u>Jālūr</u>	Abul Fidā.
<u>Janāwal</u>	Ibn Hawqal, Idrīsī.
<u>Jazrāt</u>	Dimishqī, Abūl Fidā.
<u>Kābul</u>	Yāqūt
<u>Kanbāya</u>	Ya'qūbī, Mas'ūdī, Ibn Hawqal, Idrīsī, Dimishqī, Abul Fidā.
<u>Khabirūn</u>	Idrīsī.
<u>Kayr</u>	Dimishqī.
<u>Multān</u>	Abu Zayd, Abul Faraj, Mas'ūdī, Iṣtakhrī, Maqdīsī.
<u>Mountains of the Balharā</u>	Dimishqī.
<u>Mountains of Qāmrūn</u>	Abul Fidā.
<u>Nahlwāra</u>	Dimishqī.
<u>Nahrwārah</u>	
<u>Anhilwara</u>	
<u>Nākūr</u>	Abul Fidā.
<u>Qāmuhal</u>	Dimishqī.
<u>Mamhal</u>	

Place		Name of Author mentioning same
Qāmrūn	..	Abu Zayd, Yāqūt.
Qandahār	..	Ibn <u>Khurdādhbeh</u> .
Al-Qass	..	Dimishqī.
Qashmīr	..	Ibn <u>Khurdādhbeh</u> .
Rakla	..	Dimishqī.
Somnat	..	Yāqūt, Qazwīnī, Dimishqī, Abul Fidā.
Tayfand	..	Qazwīnī.
Wayhind	..	Maqdīsī.

## APPENDIX C

*List of Kings and Kingdoms north of the Narbada river, India.*

King and Kingdom	Name of Author mentioning same
1. Ba'ūrah—King of Qannawj ..	Mas'ūdī.
2. King of Juzr ..	Ibn <u>Khurdādhbeh</u> , Sulaymān, Ibn Rusta, Mas'ūdī, Idrīsī.
3. King of Kāman, al-Kās ..	Mas'ūdī.
4. Kingdom of Kāshbīn ..	Sulaymān.
5. Kingdom of Al- Māyad, al-Mābad ..	Sulaymān, Ya'qūbī.
6. Kingdom of Mūjah, Musha ..	Sulaymān, Ya'qūbī.
7. Kingdom of Qāmrūn ..	Ibn <u>Khurdādhbeh</u> .
8. Queen Rābiya of Ūrfasīn, Aghbāb ..	Ibn Rusta.
9. Kingdom of Rahmā ..	Sulaymān, Ibn <u>Khurdādhbeh</u> , Ya'qūbī, Ibnul Faqīh, Mas'ūdī, Idrīsī.
10. Kingdom of Tāfan, Tāfaq ..	Sulaymān, Ibn <u>Khurdādhbeh</u> , Ya'qūbī, Ibn Rusta, Mas'ūdī, Idrīsī.
11. Kingdom of Tarsūl ..	Ya'qūbī.

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